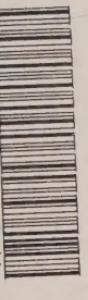




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# The Northern Passion.

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Early English Text Society.

Original Series, 147.

1916 (for 1913).



# The Northern Passion

FRENCH TEXT, VARIANTS AND FRAGMENTS, ETC.

EDITED BY  
FRANCES A. FOSTER, PH.D.

OF BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

\* \*

INTRODUCTION  
OLD FRENCH PASSION  
VARIANTS AND FRAGMENTS  
NOTES AND GLOSSARY

LONDON:

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## FOREWORD

VOLUME I of *The Northern Passion*, published in 1913, contained readings from nine manuscripts. In this volume will be found specimens of five others, which were not discovered until the texts in Vol. I were already in type. Of these five, Rawlinson C. 655 and Rawlinson Poetry 175 deserve special mention: the former, because it adds several hundred lines to the normal text of the poem; the latter, because it is in some respects the best MS. of the expanded version.

The texts here, as in Vol. I, reproduce the manuscripts without correction; I have followed the originals in capitalization, and even in the matter of word division, preserving forms like "be gin," and "a wey," instead of hyphenating them: "be-gin," "a-wey." Contractions are expanded according to the usage of the particular scribe: for example, "word" is printed "wordys" in Camb. Univ. MS. II. 4. 9 and Ashmole MS. 61; "wordis" in Camb. Univ. MSS. Dd. 1. 1 and Gg. 5. 31, and Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 31,042; and "wordes" in Harleian MSS. 4196 and 215, Cotton MS. Vespasian D. IX, and Rawlinson MSS. C. 655 and C. 86. The stroked *n* (n̄) is represented by *ne*, except in Camb. Univ. MS. II. 4. 9, where the stroke appears to be part of every final *n*. The MSS. are left without punctuation, except in the case of Harleian MS. 4196, where, for the convenience of the reader, modern punctuation is supplied.

In concluding, I wish to express my thanks to Professor R. T. Holbrook, of Bryn Mawr College, for assistance with the Old French poem; to Mr. W. A. Craigie, Mr. Henry Bergen, and Professor I. Gollancz for information about unusual words; to Dr. Samuel Moore of the University of Wisconsin, Mr. John Munro of Oxford, and Professor Lane Cooper of Cornell University for suggestions in regard to the proof; and especially to Professor Carleton Brown, of Bryn Mawr College, for his constant assistance and his kindness in reading the entire set of proofs.

My thanks for courtesy and assistance are also due to the authorities of the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Libraries of Cambridge University; Trinity College, Cambridge; Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; St. John's College, Oxford; the Fitzwilliam Museum, Saint-Brieuc, and Bryn Mawr College.

F. A. F.

Bryn Mawr College  
June 1914.



## ERRATA IN VOL. I

Page 7, col. 1, v. 41, *delete period after amang.*  
,, 8, ,, 2, note 38, *for fede read sede.*  
,, 9, ,, 1, v. 74, *delete period after payd.*  
,, 13, ,, 1, v. 104, „ „ „ dedes.  
,, 13, ,, 2, v. 113b, „ *comma* „ *ane.*  
,, 17, „ „ 1, note 6, *for pepe read yeye.*  
,, 19, „ „ 1, „ „ 2, „ *upplied read supplied.*  
,, 19, „ „ 1, „ „ 4, „ *vair* „ „ <sup>4</sup>*vair.*  
,, 27, „ „ 2, v. 242, „ *have* „ „ *haue.*  
,, 29, „ „ 1, v. 270, *delete period after isse.*  
,, 30, „ „ 1, v. 287, „ *for tha t read that.*  
,, 31, „ „ 2, note 19, v. 287e, *for evangeliste read wangeliste.*  
,, 35, „ „ 1, v. 317, *delete period after mee.*  
,, 39, „ „ 1, v. 384, *for frendes read srendes.*  
,, 42, „ „ 1, v. 413, „ *deze* „ „ *dere.*  
,, 43, „ „ 1, note 13, *for <sup>3</sup> read <sup>13</sup>.*  
,, 51, „ „ 1, „ „ 8, „ *fonde read <sup>8</sup> fonde.*  
,, 52, „ „ 2, v. 528, *delete period after thoghte.*  
,, 52, „ „ 2, v. 532, „ „ „ „ *fayle.*  
,, 61, „ „ 2, note 16, *for londe read loude.*  
,, 64, „ „ 1, v. 646, *delete period after may.*  
,, 66, „ „ 2, v. 659, „ „ „ „ *leueande.*  
,, 69, „ „ 1, note 7, *for halt you read [s]halt pou.*  
,, 69, „ „ 1, „ „ 13, „ *gounid* „ „ *gound.*  
,, 70, „ „ 2, v. 689, *delete period after fyre.*  
,, 70, „ „ 2, v. 692, „ „ „ „ „ *Ihesu.*  
,, 72, „ „ 2, v. 704, „ „ „ „ „ *gane.*  
,, 82, „ „ 1, v. 811, *for the[y] read the.*  
,, 88, „ „ 1, v. 876, *delete period after felonye.*  
,, 89, „ „ 1, v. 876, „ „ „ „ „ *felony.*  
,, 101, „ „ 1, v. 1000, *for mauechyng read manechyng.*  
,, 102, „ „ 1, v. 1010, *delete period after made.*  
,, 117, „ „ 1, v. 1137, *for leu read len.*  
,, 120, „ „ 1, v. 1188, *delete period after thore.*  
,, 122, „ „ 1, v. 1193, *for turnid read turuid.*  
,, 125, „ „ 2, v. 1210d, „ *pai* „ „ *pai.*  
,, 127, „ „ 1, v. 1229, *delete period after me.*  
,, 127, „ „ 2, v. 1236a, *for poussall read pou soll.*  
,, 130, „ „ 2, note 28, „ „ 1368a „ „ 1268a.  
,, 130, „ „ 2, „ „ 28, „ „ 1368b „ „ 1268b.

Page 136, col. 1, v. 1341, *for olye* read slye.  
 ,, 137, , 2, v. 1352, , abothȝ , a bothȝ.  
 ,, 142, , 2, v. 60\*, , eluyn , elnyn.  
 ,, 145, , 1, v. 249\*, delete period after verament.  
 ,, 145, , 1, v. 255\*, , , , mercy.  
 ,, 151, , 1, v. 91\*, *for wekkode* read welkede.  
 ,, 151, , 2, note 9, , Abe , Abel.  
 ,, 152, , 1, *for* 140 *read* 140\*; *for* 144 *read* 144\*.  
 ,, 152, , 1, , 148 , 148\*; , 152 , 152\*.  
 ,, 154, , 1, v. 215\*, *for* Egips *read* Egipt.  
 ,, 162, , 2, v. 641\*, , vp " biliue, *read* vp biliue,".  
 ,, 163, , 1, v. 510\*, , deyoun , deyony.  
 ,, 165, , 2, v. 761\*, , prophecy , prophecy.  
 ,, 168, , 1, v. 1449, , here , herd.  
 ,, 176, , 1, note 1, , vv , <sup>1</sup>vv.  
 ,, 188, , 1, v. 1612, , scorbling , storbling.  
 ,, 189, , 2, note 15, , oeuche , euche.  
 ,, 209, , 2, v. 1782c, , alto , al to.  
 ,, 213, , 2, *delete* 1808e; *for* 'f' *read* 'e'; *for* 'g' *read* 'f'; *for* 1808h *read* 1808g; *for* 'i' *read* 'h'.  
 ,, 229, col. 2, *for* 11922a *read* 1922a.  
 ,, 229, , 2, *delete* 1922c.

## ERRATA IN VOL. II

Page 3, fifth line from bottom, *insert comma before* according.  
 ,, 5, line 18, *for* Bernhard *read* Bernard.  
 ,, 6, second line from bottom, *insert comma after* 'e.g.'  
 ,, 10, line 18, *insert comma after* inserted.  
 ,, 19, seventh line from bottom, *for are* *read* is.  
 ,, 24, line 16, *for* 286 *read* 285.  
 ,, 37, paragraph 17, *insert period after* pple.  
 ,, 38, first line, *for makes* *read* make.  
 ,, 48, note 15, , 727 , 729.  
 ,, 55, eighth line from bottom, *for creante* *read* creiante.  
 ,, 76, note 2, *for* 1718 *read* 1719.  
 ,, 77, , 4, , 920k , 1920k.  
 ,, 80, , 7, , 438\* , 430\*.  
 ,, 81, line 1, *for available* *read* accessible.  
 ,, 89, ninth line from bottom, *for Legendary* *read* legendary.

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# The Northern Passion

## INTRODUCTION

### CHAPTER I

#### INTRODUCTORY

THE *Northern Passion* is one of a number of poems written in the North of England at the close of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century with the purpose of instructing the laity in matters of religion. At a time when the minstrels were delighting the ears of the people with the great secular romances of Alexander, Julius Cæsar, Greece and Troy,<sup>1</sup> it was obviously desirable that the stories of sacred history should also be presented in popular form. To meet this need the *Cursor Mundi*<sup>2</sup> was written, the lives of the saints were translated into English verse,<sup>3</sup> and the story of the Passion was related for the South of England in the *Southern Passion*<sup>4</sup> and *The Passion of Our Lord*.<sup>5</sup> In the North of England, the story of the Passion, which had been included as a section in the great *Cursor Mundi*,<sup>6</sup> was narrated in a separate poem, translated from an Old French original into octosyllabic verse,<sup>7</sup> in the early decades of the fourteenth century. The title in the MSS. is merely “*Passio domini nostri ihesu christi*,”<sup>8</sup> but in order to distinguish it from the *Southern Passion* Horstmann<sup>9</sup> has styled it the *Northern Passion*.

The author of this translation is unknown. The fourteenth-century MSS.

<sup>1</sup> See the opening lines of the *Cursor Mundi*, E. E. T. S. 57, pp. 8 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. by Rev. Richard Morris, E. E. T. S. 1874, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *The Early South-English Legendary*, E. E. T. S. 87; see also Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, neue Folge, pp. xliv. ff.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 18, n. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Printed in *An Old English Miscellany*, E. E. T. S. 49, pp. 37 ff.

<sup>6</sup> E. E. T. S. ed., 14937–17270.

<sup>7</sup> It was no unusual thing for an Englishman to turn to French for his material when he wished to instruct: Robert of Brunne translated his *Handlyng Synne* from William of Waddington's *Manuel des Pechiez* (ed. by Furnivall, E. E. T. S. 119); Dan Michel, in his *Ayenbite of Invynt* (printed by R. Morris, E. E. T. S. 23; see preface), reproduced Friar Lorens' *Le somme des Vices et de Vertues*, and the author of the *Cursor Mundi* adapted French poems as parts of his history (E. E. T. S. ed., pp. 13\* ff., and see Napier, E. E. T. S. 103, pp. xxiii. ff.). Sometimes, as in the *Mirror of Life* (see below, p. 5), the translator acknowledged his indebtedness; more often, as in the *Northern Passion*, the dependence is discovered only by a comparison of the texts.

<sup>8</sup> Camb. Univ. MS. Gg. 5. 3; **F.** *Passio domini*. **A.** *Passio domini nostri*.

<sup>9</sup> *Altengl. Leg.*, n. F., p. lxvi.

give no evidence by which his name can be determined. Names subscribed after the poem in fifteenth-century MSS. are apparently signatures of scribes, not of the author : Robert Thornton, the well-known scribe<sup>1</sup> whose name occurs in Additional MS. 31,042,<sup>2</sup> lived a century after the composition of the poem ; and Gilbert Pilkington, whose name is written after the poem in one of the late and bad MSS.,<sup>3</sup> was likewise probably only a scribe.<sup>4</sup> In consideration of this scarcity, or rather this absence, of evidence, the poem must be accepted as the work of an unknown clerk. Even the date at which he wrote is uncertain. The poem had already made its way from the North to the South of England during the first third of the fourteenth century ;<sup>5</sup> and before 1350 it was expanded and in part rewritten.<sup>6</sup> The original translation, therefore, may safely be dated early in the fourteenth century.

The French poem chosen as the basis of the *Northern Passion* was well suited to purposes of entertainment and instruction : the narrative was brief and not overloaded with homiletical passages, and the legendary matter copious enough to relieve the soberness of the Biblical narrative, though not so grotesque as to shock by its extravagance. Nevertheless, the French poem was not thought by the English author to be beyond improvement : he rearranged the narrative, omitted some extra-Biblical incidents, and added several new traditions which had sprung into popularity during the hundred years since the composition of the French poem. It is not easy to discover the principle which governed the translator in making these changes. Obviously he was not actuated by a desire to conform to the canonical Scriptures, for though some legendary details are omitted, others are introduced ; and while parts of the narrative are rearranged in accordance with the customary order of events, others are rewritten in a form which is even further from the Gospels than is the French poem. One fact, however, is clear—namely, that the author treated his material more and more freely as he advanced in his work : the opening portion of the *Northern Passion* may fairly be called a translation of the French *Passion* ; the second half is an adaptation. Yet throughout the author preserved in his rendering the popular characteristics of the original poem, so that the highly coloured narrative, for the most part unadorned by homily, enforces its lesson by example rather than by precept.

Such a narrative, though admirably fitted to instruct the laity in the story of Christ's life, was not the usual form of discourse delivered from the mediæval pulpit. A more common type, consisting of a narrative from the Gospel, explanation and exhortation based thereon, and a tale to point the moral, is exemplified

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Thornton Romances* (Camden Society, 1844), p. xxv. ff.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 50a.

<sup>3</sup> Camb. MS. Ff. 5. 48, fol. 43a.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> G<sub>1</sub> (fourteenth century, first third, see below, p. 9) is in Southern dialect.

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 3.

in a series of discourses for the Sundays of the Church year. This *Northern Homily Collection*,<sup>1</sup> included in two MSS. which contain the *Northern Passion*,<sup>2</sup> was translated or adapted from the French<sup>3</sup> in the North of England at about the same period as was the *Northern Passion*.<sup>4</sup> Widely used as the number of extant MSS. proves it to have been, its popularity did not save it from addition and alteration: sermons were needed not only for Sundays but for other feast days, for Ash Wednesday, for Good Friday, and even for certain weekdays. Poems were already composed which might serve for some of these occasions, but manifestly it would be more convenient for the clergy to have this material brought together and arranged in its proper order. This is the plan which was followed in the expanded version of the *Northern Homily Collection* preserved in Cotton Tiberius E. VII. (T) and Harleian 4196 (H).<sup>5</sup> The text of the homilies is in large part rewritten, but the more significant change consists in the addition of discourses for certain saints' days in the Christmas season and for many weekdays throughout the year.<sup>6</sup> The fresh material is, in at least two cases, adapted from earlier English poems: *viz.* the homily for the feast of Corpus Christi,<sup>7</sup> and the discourse for Good Friday, which is none other than an expansion of the *Northern Passion*.

The date 1350 given by Horstmann<sup>8</sup> for this expansion was based on the supposition that T and H are MSS. of the middle of the fourteenth century. Though most authorities now date T about 1400 and H a little later,<sup>9</sup> the approximate correctness of Horstmann's date is evidenced by Rawlinson Poetry 175 (P), a middle-fourteenth century MS. containing the expanded *Northern Passion*.<sup>10</sup> Since this text in turn was copied from some older MS. of the complete collection, the date of the expansion is probably a little before 1350.

The author of the expanded *Passion*, according to the title-page of P, was Richard Rolle of Hampole; but since this title-page is a late addition to the MS., and since it also ascribes to Rolle all the poems of the MS., including the *Seven Sages of Rome*, it cannot be treated as trustworthy evidence. The author of the expanded *Passion* is manifestly the same person who expanded the *Homily*

<sup>1</sup> Printed by J. Small, *English Metrical Homilies* (Edinburgh, 1862); extracts in Mätzner, *Altenglische Sprachproben*, I. 278; Morris and Skeat, *Specimens of Early English* (Oxford, 1894), II. pp. 83–97; see also Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, neue Folge, pp. lvii. ff.; G. H. Gerould, *The North-English Homily Collection* (Lancaster, Pa., 1902); and Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances* (London, 1910), III. pp. 320 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Camb. Univ. MSS. Gg. 5. 31 and Dd. I. i.

<sup>3</sup> G. H. Gerould, in *Modern Language Notes*, XXII. pp. 95–6.

<sup>4</sup> Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, n. F., p. lix; *Cat. of Rom.*, III. 320.

<sup>5</sup> A second expansion is preserved in the Vernon MS.; cf. Horstmann, pp. lxxi. ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Horstmann, pp. lxxx–lxxxiii.

<sup>7</sup> Printed by Horstmann, Herrig's *Archiv*. LXXXII. p. 167 ff.; and cf. *Altengl. Leg.*, n. F., p. lxxxiv.

<sup>8</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. lxxxv.

<sup>10</sup> See below, p. 17.

<sup>9</sup> See below, pp. 17–18.

*Collection*; the identity of authorship is attested not only by the MS. connection of this version of the *Passion* with the expanded Homilies,<sup>1</sup> but also by parallels in phrasing.<sup>2</sup> Two other suggestions of authorship have been made: Horstmann,<sup>3</sup> in consideration of the borrowings of the expanded *Passion* from the Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus*,<sup>4</sup> concludes that one man must have written both these narratives. But the parallels do not seem to me to support this hypothesis; they are, for the most part, concentrated in the Joseph incident and confined to the last two hundred lines of the poem.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the dialect of the poems is slightly different, for the *Gospel of Nicodemus* preserves *a* from O.E. *a*, and the expanded *Passion* introduces a few *o*-forms in rhyme.<sup>6</sup> It is not probable, therefore, that one author is responsible for the two. Finally, the expanded version of the *Homily Collection*, and therefore of the *Northern Passion*, has been ascribed by Horstmann<sup>7</sup> to William Nassington,<sup>8</sup> an advocate in the ecclesiastical court of York, who is named as the author of (1) "Tractatus Willim Nassyngton, quondam aduocati juris Eboraci, de Trinitate & Unitate, cum declaracione operum Dei, et de passione Domini nostri Ihesu Christi"<sup>9</sup> in the

<sup>1</sup> In **T** and **H** the *Passion* forms part of the *Expanded Homily Collection*; in **P** the *Passion* is headed by a rubric which proves that it was copied from a MS. of the Collection; see below, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Expanded Homily Collection*.

Bot for pouer men said he it noght  
On his awin wining was his thought  
(Harl. 4196, fol. 65b).  
ffor þaire spending about he bare  
Als men may here forser mare  
(Harl. 4196, fol. 65b).

He thought to be his maister bane  
Bot of his breþer wist right name  
(Harl. 4196, fol. 66b).

Bot never be les be held him still  
Haly writ forto fulfill  
(Harl. 4196, fol. 66b).

To wasche þaire fete sitand on raw  
(Harl. 4196, fol. 66b).

And on a day als ihesus stode  
Omang þa iews of wikked mode  
(Harl. 4196, fol. 59b).

þat was þe oyle of mercy right  
þat god till oure form faders hight  
(Harl. 4196, fol. 14b).

With a heuy stane þe hole was dit  
ffor no man suld it þepin flit  
(Harl. 4196, fol. 86a).

<sup>3</sup> Herrig's *Archiv*, LVII. p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> An exception is the episode of Pilate's wife, 1061 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Yorkshire Writers* (London, 1896), II. p. 274.

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> Printed by Perry (*Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse*, E. E. T. S. 26, pp. 59–71), and by

Horstmann (*Yorkshir Writers*, II. pp. 334–9).

#### *Expanded Passion.*

Bot for pouer men said he it noght,  
On his awin winyng was his thought;  
(131–132).

And in his bagges about he bare  
Al þaire tresore les and mare.  
(20/21\*–22\*).

Bot euer more he thought on ane  
þat he suld be his maister bane.  
(213–214)

ȝit said he noght, bot held him still  
fforto perfourne his fader will.  
(172a–172b)

And wasschen ȝowre fete all on raw.  
(361).

All þis tyme þan ihesus stode  
Omang þe iews ful milde of mode.  
(635–636).

He es þe oile of mercy right,  
þe whilk was to þi fader hight.  
(152/285\*–286\*).

þai made it both fast and fit,  
ffor no man suld it þepin flit.  
(1912a–1912b).

<sup>4</sup> See below, pp. 77–8.

<sup>5</sup> For Nassington see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

Thornton MS. at Lincoln; and (2) the long *Mirror of Life*, sometimes ascribed to Richard Rolle,<sup>1</sup> which ends in British Museum Royal MS. 17. C. VIII. with the following words :

For freere Iohne saule of Waldby  
þat fast studyd day and nyght  
And made þis tale in latyn right  
Prays also with deuocion  
For Williām saule of Nassynetone  
þat gaf hym als full besyly  
night and day to grete study  
And made þis tale in ynglys tonge.<sup>2</sup>

This ascription, however, rests on a misconception : Horstmann says, “ To the same William Nassington is generally ascribed the long poem *Mirror of Life*, a translation of Joh. de Waldeby’s *Speculum Vitæ*; although in some MSS. (Ll. 1. 8) the Engl. poem is ascribed to R. Rolle. The oldest, and probably original MS. of the *Mirror* is Tiber. E. VII, of about 1350. . . . Now the same MS. Tib. contains, after the *Mirror* fol. 1-82, three more poems : the *Lamentation of St. Mary on the Passion* (after St. Bernard); a versification of R. Rolle’s *Form of Living*; and a metrical version of the tract titled *Spiritus Guidonis* . . . ; then follows a set of homilies and legends in verse, which is a revised and greatly augmented edition of the *Evangelia dominicalia* in Northern verse. . . . I have no doubt that the three poems mentioned—all translations—have the same author as the *Mirror of Life*, viz. William Nassington, and to him I also ascribe the additional parts in the homilies and legends of the same MS.”<sup>3</sup> The latest authorities, however, date Cotton Tiberius<sup>4</sup> later than Camb. Univ. MS. Ll. 1. 8,<sup>5</sup> which likewise contains the *Mirror*; therefore, any hypothesis based on the early date of the Cotton MS. falls to the ground. Furthermore, the dialect of the five poems, though Northern, differs in the treatment of Old English *a*. In the *Mirror* it is constantly represented by Middle English *a*,<sup>6</sup> but in the *Lamentation of St. Mary*<sup>7</sup> and the *Passion*<sup>8</sup> we find a mixture of *a* and *o*. Therefore, since neither the MS. evidence nor the dialectical peculiarity supports the hypothesis, Nassington’s authorship of the expanded *Northern Passion* may be dismissed from consideration.

The changes and additions made in expanding the *Northern Homily Collection*

<sup>1</sup> Camb. Univ. MS. Ll. 1. 8 and J. Ullmann, *Studien zu Richard Rolle de Hampole (Engl. Stu., VII. pp. 419-54).*

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 335b; quoted in D. N. B., article “ Nassington.”

<sup>3</sup> *Yorkshire Writers*, II. 274.

<sup>4</sup> 1400; see below, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> End of fourteenth century, see *Englische Studien*, VII. p. 416.

<sup>6</sup> *Engl. Stu.*, VII. pp. 424-5.

<sup>7</sup> Kribel, in *Englische Studien*, VIII. p. 82.

<sup>8</sup> See below, p. 36.

are not, in general, of a homiletical character.<sup>1</sup> Exhortation does indeed play a small part in the additions to the *Northern Passion*; the introduction, for example, urges all Christian men to meditate on Christ's Passion;<sup>2</sup> but the additions more frequently consist in the introduction of fresh material from the Vulgate and the insertion of new legends, or in the expansion of those already present.

Of the popularity of the *Passion*, especially in its original unexpanded form, there can be no question, copied as the poem was for two centuries, sometimes in the North of England, sometimes in the South. The reason for its popularity might seem from the MS. evidence to lie in the legendary material, for opposite the stories of the Cross, the Making of the Nails, etc., the scribes have added marginal notes, such as "Visio Johannis," "Of what wodde the Crosse was made of," "Miraculum Maxilla," "Sibilla Regina," "De Fabro."<sup>3</sup> Yet, as a matter of fact, these legends have left almost no traces on literature written in England: the story of the Smith and the nails is found only in the *Cornish Passion*,<sup>4</sup> where it may well have been borrowed from a French source;<sup>5</sup> the *Northern Passion* Cross legend, either in short or long form, appears nowhere else;<sup>6</sup> and the Vision of John, though frequently met with,<sup>7</sup> shows no traces of influence from the *Northern Passion*. Attractive as the legends may have been, they are evidently not responsible for the popularity of the *Passion*. The use made of it in Middle English poems shows that its popularity is chiefly due to its rendering of scripture; for it is in narratives and plays of the Gospels that we find the phrasing of the *Passion* reproduced.

But before speaking of the poems which show the influence of the *Northern Passion*, it will be well to consider the evidence for literary borrowing. Two poems, based ultimately on the Biblical story, may show a direct relation (1) by parallels in arrangement of the events drawn from the different Gospels, (2) by the selection of the same legendary incidents from the vast store available in the Middle Ages, or (3) by agreement in phraseology. The significance of any one of these three types of parallels is lessened by frequent occurrence in other poems: *e. g.*, the mere presence of the Healing of Longinus is no evidence of borrowing, since this extra-Biblical incident is found in most accounts of the

<sup>1</sup> Horstmann says: "Die Zusatzstücke enthalten blos das Evangelium und dessen Deutung; öfter fehlt eine besondere Expositio und die Deutung beschränkt sich auf einzelne Stellen des Evangeliums; keins der Zusatzstücke hat eine Narratio. Überhaupt liegt in dieser Sammlung der Schwerpunkt mehr auf den Evangelien selber; die Erzählung der h. Geschichte bildet die Hauptsache, das homiletische Element tritt mehr zurück; die Deutung selbst ist mehr historischer, wie allegorischer Art" (*Alteng. Leg.*, n. F., p. lxxxv).

<sup>2</sup> Vv. 2/\*1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Camb. Univ. Gg. 5. 31; see below, pp. 10-11, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Edwin Norris, *The Ancient Cornish Drama* (Oxford, 1859), I. pp. 433-9.

<sup>5</sup> *E. g.* the French *Passion*, and see below, pp. 64-65.

<sup>6</sup> Except the few lines borrowed in the *Canticum de Creatione*; see below, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> See below, pp. 62-63.

crucifixion. The same reasoning holds true of the Harrowing of Hell and of the tortures which accompany the crucifixion,<sup>1</sup> two non-Biblical traditions widely accepted among mediæval writers. Furthermore, in considering verbal parallels, much the same situation confronts us; for while great variety is possible in translating any phrase of the Vulgate, and while the necessities of rhyme tend to diversify renderings even more widely, certain stories appear again and again accompanied by the same phraseology, and even by the same rhymes. For example, the following lines of the Towneley *Conspiracy*<sup>2</sup> are so close to the *Northern Passion* as to suggest immediately a direct relation:

She weshyd hym with hir terys weytt,  
and sen dryed hym with hir hare;  
This fare oyntment, hir bale to beytt,  
apon his hede she put<sup>t</sup> it thare,  
That it ran aþt abowte his feytt;  
I thought it<sup>t</sup> was a ferly fare,  
The house was ful<sup>t</sup> of odowre sweytt;  
then to speke myght<sup>t</sup> I not<sup>t</sup> spare  
(XX. 258–265).

Doune scho fell and wesche his fete  
With þe teres þat scho grete,  
And seþin scho dried þam with hir hare,  
And for hir sins scho murned sare.  
(H. 107–110).  
Als scho enoynt him, heued & fete,  
.And honord him hir bales to bete,  
(H. 117–118).  
ffor þat oygnement was full swete  
þat scho oyled with ihesu fete.  
(G<sub>5</sub>. 117–118).

Yet a comparison of these lines with the *Northern Homily Collection*,<sup>3</sup> the *South-English Legendary*,<sup>4</sup> and the *Cursor Mundi*,<sup>5</sup> shows that several Northern poets related the story in strikingly similar language. The presence of the same rhymes in these poems proves that we are dealing with stereotyped phrases which are not reliable evidence for direct relationship between any two of the poems. But though verbal parallels, unsupported by agreement in arrangement or in the selection of legendary incidents, are an unsatisfactory proof of direct influence, and though, even given striking parallels, the impossibility of dating many Middle English poems makes it uncertain in which direction the influence worked, the following parallels prove that several poems owe part of their phraseology to the *Northern Passion*, or, to state it more cautiously, that these poems belong to a “school” of which the *Northern Passion* is one of the older examples.

The *Northern Passion*, as noted by Dr. Peebles,<sup>6</sup> appears to have influenced the *Lamentation of Our Lady and Saint Bernard*,<sup>7</sup> in the Longinus incident, which is an addition of the English poem to its source.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. E. E. T. S. LXXI. p. 212; see *Modern Language Notes*, XXVI. 169–71.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Small (Edinburgh, 1862), pp. 17–18.

<sup>4</sup> E. E. T. S. 87, pp. 464 ff.

<sup>5</sup> vv. 13986 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *The Legend of Longinus* (Bryn Mawr College Monographs, No. IX.), p. 99.

<sup>7</sup> *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* I. (E. E. T. S. 1892), pp. 297–328; see also Kribel, *Englische Studien*, VIII. 67 ff., and Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, II. 274–82.

<sup>8</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 182, col. 1133.

Be-syde þe Roode þen stod a kniȝt,  
Blynd he was and lome also,  
Alle þei seide Longeus he hiȝt :  
Vnder þe Roode þei dude him go.  
“ þei token him a launce good  
And sette hit to my sone syde,  
[þe Lewis on him were criand  
Put up, Longius, now is þe tide].

(613–618).

Other parallels are the following :

“ On Cene-þursday wiþ-Inne þe niȝt  
Cayphas him nom, him þhouȝte gome,  
Wiþ swerdes and wiþ lanternes briȝt,  
(177–179).

þat was I-sene, he ladde him oute  
And dude him to þe Iewes honde.  
þe Iewes þrongen him a-boute,  
(261–263).

The *Canticum de Creatione* (c. 1375)<sup>2</sup> shows the influence of the *Northern Passion* in a few lines of the Cross story :

Bote god, þat wot of alle dede,  
Honurede þat tre for mannes nede :  
Betwixe ondren & non  
God sente eche day an angel briȝt,  
And to þat tre he wente riȝt,  
þe water þanne sterede ful son.  
And who so myȝte in þat water tiȝt  
Bathen him after þat angelis fiȝt,  
What siknesse þat he had,  
Sone he wax hol ywis. (1123–1132).

The principal interest of the *Northern Passion*, however, does not lie in its intrinsic merit, which, viewed by modern standards, is slight indeed, nor in its influence on minor poems of the fourteenth century; but rather in its relation to the Middle English drama. Three of the great cycles of miracle plays, York, Towneley and Hegge (the so-called *Ludus Coventriæ*), used the *Passion* at some stage of their growth. By their influence, a poem written for use in the pulpit was carried out of the church and brought home to the people through a new medium, the stage. By the use of this fresh medium, the purpose for which

<sup>1</sup> All quotations from the *Northern Passion* for which no MS. is named are from Camb. Univ. MS. Gg. 5. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Printed from Trinity College, Oxford MS., 57, by Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.* (1878), pp. 124–38. The poem is based on the Cross Legend (cf. below, p. 234, n. 20), and the *Vita Adæ et Evæ* (cf. below, p. 257, n. 27). Another poem influenced by the *Passion* is noted below.

Besyde þe rode stode A knyghte  
þat longe had for born hys syghe  
longes was þe knyghtes name  
he was both blynde And lame  
[the Iewes did hym vndir þe rode to  
stande  
a spere þay tuke hym in his hande]  
þey sett it to Ihesus Syde  
þey seyden put vp qwhat so be tyde.  
(I. 1869–1876).

ffor in lanterns þai broght lyght  
ffor it was with in þe nyght.  
(N.P. 517–518).

Pilate led ihesu þare outt  
þe Lewis gadird hym about.  
(N.P. 1243–1244).

But god þat wiste of alle dedis  
honourid it for alle oure nedis.  
(D. 1387–1388).

Eueri day fro heuene lyght  
he sente doun an aungel briȝt.  
(D. 1391–1392).

þat who so ferst þer in mylte  
ben baȝid after þe aungelis fiȝt.  
(D. 1399–1400).

it was originally written was not frustrated, but merely extended. The relationship between the *Northern Passion* and the cycle plays will be discussed in detail in Chapter VI: the recognition at this point that the *Northern Passion* directly influenced the drama is in itself sufficient to justify a critical study of the poem.

## CHAPTER II

## MANUSCRIPTS OF THE NORTHERN PASSION

THE MSS. of the *Northern Passion* may be divided into two classes: eleven MSS. of the original version, and three MSS. of the expanded version written for use on Good Friday as part of the *Expanded Homily Collection*. In the following list, the manuscripts are arranged chronologically under these two headings, except that among the MSS. of the short version, the two fragments are placed at the end.

§ 1. *The Original Version.*

**G<sub>1</sub>.** Camb. Univ. MS., Gg. 1. 1, ff. 122a–134b.

A parchment MS. of 633 leaves, 125 × 152 mm., double columns of 38 lines; large, but somewhat careless hand;<sup>1</sup> a few illuminated initials, many in red or blue; written in the South of England in the first third of the fourteenth century;<sup>2</sup> owned by Bishop Moore, inscribed in the seventeenth century, “Bought of Mr. Washington” (fol. 1).<sup>3</sup>

**G<sub>1</sub>** contains 44 articles, described by M. Paul Meyer in *Romania* XV. (1886), pp. 283 ff., of which all but six are in French; three of these are Latin, and three English, namely: *The Proverbs of Hendyng*,<sup>4</sup> the brief songs in Pierre Langtoft’s *Chronicle*,<sup>5</sup> and the *Northern Passion*. The English poems show certain peculiarities which lead to the conclusion that the scribe was more accustomed to write French than English. Chief of these is the confusion in regard to the letter *ȝ*, which appears pleonastically with *p* or *th*, and sometimes replaces them.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The letters *c* and *t*, *e* and *c*, *p* and *y* are often confused. See below for the use of *ȝ*.

<sup>2</sup> *Romania*, XV. p. 283, the printed Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS. (1858, III. p. 1), dates it “the former half of the fourteenth century”; and E. D. Grand (*Revue des Langues Romanes*, XXXVII. p. 17), end of the thirteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> *Romania*, XV. p. 283.

<sup>4</sup> Ff. 478b–479b. Printed by Mätzner, *Altenglische Sprachproben*, I. 304–11; see also *Romania*, XV. 334.

<sup>5</sup> Printed by Thomas Wright, *The Political Songs of England* (Camden Society, 1839), pp. 286–318; and see *Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft* (ed. Wright, Rolls Series, 1868), II, p. ix ff.

<sup>6</sup> 1352 *both*; (*bough*); 1589 *swithȝe*, 1691 *þȝefes*, 1411 *fort*; (*forth*) and see 1299 *brauncheȝ*, 1343 *nechȝ*, 1597 *þþratten*, etc.

M. Meyer's remark as to the ignorance displayed by this scribe<sup>1</sup> applies with special force to the English pieces.<sup>2</sup>

**C. MS. Rawlinson C. 655, ff. 1a–50a.**

A paper MS. of 50 ff., 105 × 167 mm.,<sup>3</sup> 20 to 28 lines to a page, in a clear hand; written in the South of England, perhaps at Wells, about the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>4</sup> On the margin at the top of fol. 1 is written, "Suum cuique. Tho: Hearne / Aug. 4. CIO. DCC. XXVIII. / This MS. concerning the Sufferings of our Saviour was given me by / Peter Davis, Esqs. Recorder of / Wells." In the margin of fol. 40b is written: "Edwardus di gracia" and "Edwardus," probably referring to Edward III (d. 1377).

The *Passion* proper is preceded by 196 lines of introduction which narrate the Baptism, Temptation and Preaching of Christ. A few corrections have been inserted, apparently by the original scribe.<sup>5</sup> Since this MS. was pointed out to me by Professor Carleton Brown after the parallel texts were printed, I give extracts in *Variants and Fragments*, No. 1.

**G<sub>5</sub>. Camb. Univ. MS. Gg. 5. 31, ff. 149a–171b.**

A parchment volume of 171 ff., 241 × 165 mm., double columns, 45 to 50 lines each, clear hand, a few large initials in red, the first letter of each line stroked with red; written in the northern part of England toward the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>6</sup> The contents of the MS. are listed by Horstmann.<sup>7</sup> The *Passion* has been corrected by a second hand at vv. 142, 56\*, 1730, 1616, 1673, etc. A paragraph mark is placed in the margin opposite vv. 29, 71, 97, 121, 145, 178, 205, 271, 321, 405, 455, 501, 545, 559, 583, 669, 769, 817, 867, 915, 969, 1019, 1061, 1139, 1180, 1275, 140, 1\*, 145/289\*, 1551, 1667, 1717, 1897, 2001. Marginal notes occur on fol. 151b v. 273, *visio Johannis*; fol. 161b, v. 1296, *lignum vitae*; and a little below in a later hand, *Of what wodde the Crosse was made of*; fol. 164a, v. 145, 252\*, *Miraculum de Maxilla*; fol. 164b, v. 145/279\*, *Sibilla Regina*; fol. 165a, v. 1448, *De fabro*.

**D. Camb. Univ. MS. Dd. 1. 1, ff. 6a–21a.**

A parchment and paper MS., originally 552 ff., 140 × 391 mm., of which ff. 1–5, 8–11, 13, part of 18, 26, 34–36, 61, 66, 72, 86, 116, 166, part of 173, 179,

<sup>1</sup> "Le copiste était peu instruit. Il a fait beaucoup de fautes dont plusieurs montrent qu'il lisait mal son original" (*Romania*, XV. p. 283).

<sup>2</sup> See vv. 1316, 1320, 1322, 1359, 1368, etc. <sup>3</sup> Ff. 47–50 are 177 mm. long.

<sup>4</sup> According to the opinion of Mr. F. Madan, Librarian of the Bodleian Library. See also *Catalogue* (Oxford 1878), V. 2, p. 333. <sup>5</sup> See below, p. 40 n.

<sup>6</sup> According to the opinion kindly expressed to me by Mr. Alfred Rogers, Assistant Librarian of Cambridge University Library. Hortsman (*Altengl. Leg.*, n. F., p. lxv) dates it in the second quarter of the fourteenth century; the printed *Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS.* (1858, III. p. 199), followed by Gerould (*The North-English Homily Collection*, Lancaster, Pa., 1902, p. 6), places it in the early fifteenth century.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. lxv–lxvi.

196, 237–239, 248, 249 are lacking; <sup>1</sup> single columns of 50 to 54 lines; large initials in red or blue; written in the Southern Midlands during the first half of the fifteenth century <sup>2</sup> by Staundon, <sup>3</sup> who may be of the family of Stauntons living in Worcestershire, <sup>4</sup> and Gloucestershire <sup>5</sup> in the fifteenth century. The contents of this MS. are listed in the printed *Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS.* (1856, I. p. 1 ff.), which may be supplemented by Horstmann's description.<sup>6</sup>

The *Passion* lacks vv. 1–560 (ff. 1–5); 777–1178 (ff. 8–11), 1275–1360 (fol. 13), 1815–1828 and 1863–1878 (lower part of fol. 18). A later scribe has gone over part of the poem, dotting the *i*'s; and a comparatively modern hand, perhaps the same, has underlined difficult words and written in the margin explanations in English or Latin. In the following list the underlined word is given, followed by the gloss: fol. 6a : *and* 571, if; *ferē* 592, companion, *yfere*, *comitatus*; *ferde* 604, did; fol. 6b : *tene* 631, trouble, sorow; *withsaye* 647, contra; *steuene* 662, voice; *wol* 672, valde; fol. 7a : *bewrayst* 695, accusest; fol. 7b : *tobrayde* 740, *atbraydan*; *samen* 757 togither; fol. 12a, *vnspede* 1214a, in miseria eiy f (?); fol. 12b : *vnuwynne* 1242 saden; fol. 14b : *tyne* 1464, lose; fol. 15a : *smythe* 1495, in fabriam, forge; fol. 16a : *mote* 1582, speak (deleted) contend, strive; *boris* 1618, holes; fol. 17a : *eysel* 1722, vinagre; fol. 17b : *hende* 1729, nigh (deleted with two other words) kind; fol. 18a : *beteche* 1805, committ; fol. 18b : *hende* 1855, next hand (deleted); fol. 19b : *wakin* 1933 watch; *ageyn* 1971, towards. The following marginal notes are by another hand; fol. 6b, v. 663, Mar 14 62; fol. 14a, v. 1391, Jo 5 2; v. 1407, the tree; fol. 14b, v. 1440, nailes; v. 1449, smyth; fol. 15a, v. 1491, the smiths wyfe made the 3 nailes; v. 1529, Luke 23 27; fol. 19b, v. 1949, 4 knyghtes.

#### Ad. British Museum Addit. MS. 31042, ff. 33a–50a.

A paper MS. of 183 ff., 274 × 206 mm: the early part <sup>7</sup> in double columns of 36 to 43 lines, coarse hand; <sup>8</sup> the large initials in red; a few drawings in the

<sup>1</sup> MS. note in the printed *Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS.* (I. p. 1) at Cambridge.

<sup>2</sup> According to the opinion of Mr. Alfred Rogers, Assistant Librarian of the Cambridge University Library. In the printed *Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS.* (1856, I. 1) this MS. is assigned "to the latter half of the fourteenth century"; Horstmann (*Altengl. Leg.*, n. F., p. lxvii) dates it about the middle of the fourteenth century, and in this opinion is followed by McKnight (E. E. T. S. 14, 1901, p. liv); Kribel dates it beginning of the fifteenth century (*Engl. Stu.*, VIII. p. 67), and Gerould (*N. E. Homily Collection*, 1902, p. 6) toward the middle of the fifteenth century. A *terminus a quo* is furnished by the mention of the year 1345 on fol. 544 (*Catalogue*, 1856, I. 3).

<sup>3</sup> "Dominicalia evangelia et miracula valde bona et notabilia in lingua Anglicana, quod Staundon. Dives divitias non congregat absque dolore, Non tenet absque metu, nec deserit absque dolore, quod Staundone," (fol. 225b) quoted by Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, n. F., p. lxviii.

<sup>4</sup> *Harleian Society*, XXVII. 131.

<sup>5</sup> *Harleian Society*, XXVII. 131.

<sup>6</sup> *Altengl. Leg.*, n. F., pp. lxvii.–lxviii.

<sup>7</sup> Ff. 1–50a, including the *Northern Passion*. Other parts of the MS. in double columns are ff. 121a–168b, 181a–183b.

<sup>8</sup> *U* and *n*, *p* and *y* are indistinguishable.

margins, etc.; written about the middle of the fifteenth century<sup>1</sup> by Robert Thornton of East Newton, Yorkshire,<sup>2</sup> who signed the *Northern Passion*.<sup>3</sup> John Nettleton, whose name occurs at the top of fol. 49a in a fifteenth-century hand,<sup>4</sup> is perhaps to be identified with John Nettleton of Thornhill Lees, Yorkshire, son of John Nettleton and Elizabeth Holgate, who were married in 1420.<sup>5</sup> The contents of Ad are listed in the printed *Catalogue of Additions to the MSS. in the British Museum* (1882), pp. 148–51.

The *Passion* is the third in a series of poems on Sacred History : (1) a selection from the *Cursor Mundi* (vv. 10630—14933) on the childhood of Mary, early life and ministry of Christ, ending with the promise of the Passion from “another boke”;<sup>6</sup> ff. 3a–32a. (2) *Cursor Mundi* 17111—17188, A Discourse between Christ and Man,<sup>7</sup> beginning

Ihesu was of Mary borne  
ffor synfull mane þat was for lorne

(fol. 32a)

ending

That we may whene we hethyne wende  
Come to thi Ioye with owttene ende. Amene.

Amene Amen Per charite Amen Amen.

Et sic procedendum ad Passionem  
domini nostri Ihesu christi que incipit in  
folio proximo sequente secundum  
ffantasiam scriptoris.

(fol. 32b)

(3) The *Northern Passion* (ff. 33a–50a); (4) the alliterative *Siege of Jerusalem*<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, I. p. 928.

<sup>2</sup> For the identification of Thornton see Halliwell, *The Thornton Romances* (Camden Society, 1844), pp. xxv–xxvi.

<sup>3</sup> Fol. 50a.

<sup>4</sup> *Cat. of Addit. MSS.* (1882), p. 151.

<sup>5</sup> Foster, *Visitation of Yorkshire* (London, 1875), p. 557.

<sup>6</sup>

14913	ffor faste now neghes to þe nede
14914	ffor to suffre his passyounē
14915	Anothir boke spekes of þat rawnsoune ffor now I thynke of this make ende And to þe Passyounē witt I wende Anothir boke to by gynne And I may to my purpose wynne
14931	And þatt I it tiff ende may bryngē I beseke oure heuene kynge Als I this tiff ende hafe broghtē he grante me grace þat me dere boghthe
14932	Tiff his honoure and haly kirke
14933	he lene me space this werke to wirke Amen Amen that it swa bee I pray ȝow alle ȝe praye for mee þat takes one hande þis begynnyngē he bryngē me vnto gode endyng. Amene.

(fol. 32a)

See *Cat. of Addit. MSS.* 1882, p. 148.

<sup>7</sup> The printed Catalogue does not note that this section is from the *Cursor Mundi*.

<sup>8</sup> This poem has been printed from MS. Laud Misc. 656, by G. Steffler, *The sege of Jerusalem*, Marburg, 1891.

(ff. 50a–66a). Though drawn from various sources, these pieces have evidently been arranged in this MS. so as to form a continuous narrative, beginning with the Apocryphal story of the childhood of the Virgin and continuing to the Destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian. One gap occurs in the *Northern Passion*: the text breaks off abruptly in the middle of column 2, fol. 41a, in the Cross story, and begins again on fol. 43a, omitting much of the sending of Seth to Paradise.<sup>1</sup> Probably the scribe's copy lacked a leaf at this point, and he left the blank space to be filled in when he should find the missing lines.

**I. Camb. Univ. MS. II. 4. 9, ff. 1a–42a.**

A paper MS. of 197 leaves, 239 × 170 mm., single columns of 24–28 lines, clear hand; occasional large initials in red, on ff. 1a–2a and 16a–18a the initial of each line stroked with red; written in the East Midlands during the fifteenth century,<sup>2</sup> probably by Thomas Bareyle of Norfolk. On fol. 195 in the same hand as the *explicit* of the *Northern Passion*<sup>3</sup> is written:

This is the boke of S Will Trew I[n] witnessse where for I thomas bareyle hauyng knowlage there off haue putt to myn signe.

Below this in a later hand: "John Cuttyngworsted in comitatu," and in a still later hand, "This is the boke ser Robt Hawe." These marks of ownership point to Norfolk as the county where the book was written. Worsted is a parish of Eastern Norfolk eight miles north-east of Aylsham, and the families of Trew,<sup>4</sup> Barrel,<sup>5</sup> Cutting<sup>6</sup> and Hawe<sup>7</sup> are all mentioned in Norfolk records of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The contents of this MS. are listed in the printed *Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS.* (1858), III. 448 ff.

<sup>1</sup> The missing lines would correspond to the Latin *Legend*, §§ 3–7; see below, p. 70, n. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS.* (1858), III. p. 448.

<sup>3</sup> "here endyth the Passyon of oure lorde cryste Ihesu / lorde Ihesu pi blyssyd lyfe. helpe and / conforte oure wretched lyfe Amen" (fol. 42a).

<sup>4</sup> William Trew was mayor of Lynn, 1504 (Blomfield: *History of Norfolk*, VIII. p. 532); John Trewe, Rector of Twyford, 1495 (Blomfield, VIII. 284); John Trew, Rector of Crostwick, 1503–10 (Blomfield, XI. 12); John Trew was priest in Sloley, 1524 (Blomfield, XI. 62); notice also that Thomas Trewe was appointed sword-bearer for life in Norwich, 1437 (Blomfield, III. 146). *Ser* prefixed to the name does not mean that William Trew belonged to the peerage, since the title was often applied to parsons (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, article "Dominus").

<sup>5</sup> John Barrell was rector of Geldeston in Norfolk in 1393 (Blomfield, VIII. 8). For other notices of the family, see Blomfield, III. 665; IV. 438.

<sup>6</sup> I find no record of John Cutting of Worstead (the earliest entry in the unprinted Parish records is 1558, according to Burke's *Key to the Ancient Parish Registers of England and Wales*, London, 1908, p. 161). John Cutting was rector in the neighbouring parish of Westwick in 1417 and Nicholas Cuttyng in 1431 (Blomfield, XI. 81); William Cutting died in East Dereham, 1599 (Blomfield, X. 213), and Giles Cutting, attorney, of Belagh, is mentioned in 1670 and 1689 (Blomfield, VIII. 305; VI. 312). John Cutting of Westwick lived too early to be the owner of I, but the man who inscribed his name on fol. 195 may be one of his descendants.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Hawe was Rector of Thetford, 1473–81 (Blomfield, V. 433). Alice Hawis of Walsham was the grandmother of Thomas Smith, living in 1563 (*The Visitation of Norfolk, Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society*, Norwich, 1878, I. p. 90).

A later hand has marked with dots the cæsural pauses in vv. 1–196 of the *Passion*. A late hand (perhaps the same) has made the following marginal notes: fol. 26b, v. 1297, *David planted whereon Crist hangd*; fol. 28b, hand pointing to v. 1400; fol. 29a v. 1426, *þe crosse olyf the tree cedyr*; fol. 30a, hand pointing to v. 1479; v. 1483, *þe smythes wyfe made þe naylis*.

**F. Camb. Univ. MS. Ff., 5. 48, ff. 11a–43a.**

A paper MS. of 140 leaves, 205 × 143 mm., single columns 27–37 lines each, careless hand;<sup>1</sup> the large initials, brackets joining the lines of each couplet, and the strokes through the initial letters of the lines in red; written in the West Midlands during the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup> It is signed by the scribe<sup>3</sup> on fol. 43a:<sup>4</sup>

“ Explicit Passio domini / nostri ihesu christi Quod Dominus Gilbertus / Pylkyngton Amen / ffinis adest mete venit explicit ergo valete.”

Nothing is known of Gilbert Pylkyngton.<sup>5</sup> The Pilkingtons of Lancashire were prominent from the twelfth century;<sup>6</sup> branches of the family were settled in Yorkshire,<sup>7</sup> Nottinghamshire<sup>8</sup> and Hertfordshire<sup>9</sup> in the fifteenth century. The West Midland dialect of F makes it probable that the scribe belonged to some branch of the Lancashire Pilkingtons, but the family records contain no mention of Gilbert. The contents of F are listed in the printed *Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS.* (1857), III. p. 505 ff.

The *Passion* is divided into sections which begin with a large initial and a line of bolder writing underlined in red. Vv. 189–280 are wrongly placed after

<sup>1</sup> The letters o and e are often indistinguishable.

<sup>2</sup> According to the printed *Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS.* (1858), III. p. 505. It is dated middle of the fifteenth century by Murray (E. E. T. S. 61, p. lviii), and the end of the fifteenth century by Brandl (*Sammlung Englischer Denkmäler*, 1880, II. p. 1). By Halliwell (*Shakespeare Soc.*, 1845, p. 56), on the other hand, it is placed early in the fifteenth century, by Wright (*Tournament of Tottenham*, London, 1836, p. ix) as early as Edward II.; Sir Sidney Lee (D. N. B., article “Pilkington”) calls it fourteenth century, and Warton (*History of English Poetry*, 1840, III. 98) thinks it as late as Henry VIII.

<sup>3</sup> That Pylkyngton was the scribe and not the author is the opinion of Sir Sidney Lee (D. N. B.); see also Hartshorne, *Ancient Metrical Tales* (1829), p. x; *Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS.* (1857), II. p. 505.

<sup>4</sup> The D. N. B. (XV. 1909, p. 1179) states that Pilkington's signature is found with the *Tournament of Tottenham*, its sequel *The Feest* and the *Tale of Robin Hood* in the same MS.; but the only signature of Pilkington appears to be that following the *Northern Passion*.

<sup>5</sup> Bedwell (*The Tournament of Tottenham*, London 1631) surmises that Pilkington was Pastor of Tottenham (see title-page) in the fourteenth century, and wrote the *Passion*, *Tournament of Tottenham*, *The Feest* and the *Tale of Robin Hood*, all in F (see Preface). None of these details are supported by contemporary evidence. Sir Sidney Lee in the D. N. B. recognizes Pilkington as the scribe rather than the author of the MS., but dates the MS. in the fourteenth century, and gives Pilkington's *floruit* as 1350. On the date of the MS. see the references above in note 2.

<sup>6</sup> John Pilkington, *History of the Pilkington Family* (Liverpool, 1912), p. 24.

<sup>7</sup> *History of the Pilkington Family*, p. 68.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

718. Evidently a folio was misplaced, but since the break occurs not at the end, but in the middle of a page, the confusion already existed in the MS. from which **F** was copied. The following marginal notes occur : fol. 11a, *ihesu mercy*; fol. 12a, *Lady helpe*; fol. 14a, *Sancta dei Genntrix virgo Semper maria*; fol. 16b, *ihesu*; fol. 17a, *mercy*; fol. 32b *smyth d / godless d / vice d / west d / Cinvude (?) v d*; fol. 33a, *ihesu mercy*; fol. 41a, *crist Amen*; fol. 43a, *ihesu mercy*.

**A. Ashmole MS. 61, ff. 87b-105b.**

A paper MS., 161 leaves, 420 × 147 mm., single columns of 50 to 56 lines, coarse clear hand; a fish drawn after many of the articles; the large initials in red, and the lines of each couplet connected by a red bracket; written in the Midlands "in or before the reign of Henry VII"<sup>1</sup> by Rate or Rathe.<sup>2</sup> The contents of the MS. are listed in the *Catalogue of Ashmolean MSS.* by Black (1845), pp. 106-110.

The Longinus episode from the *Passion* (vv. 1829-96) is printed by Dr. R. J. Peebles in *The Legend of Longinus*, pp. 97-9.<sup>3</sup>

**R. MS. Rawlinson C. 86, ff. 2a-30b.**

**R** consists of two distinct parts, the first (ff. 1-30) contains only the *Northern Passion*, the second (ff. 31 ff.) is written on paper of a different size in a different hand. For a description of the entire volume and list of contents see Sir F. Madden, *Syr Gawayne*, p. lxiv.<sup>4</sup> The *Northern Passion* is partly on paper and partly (ff. 1, 10, 11, 20, 21, 26, 27) on vellum, 203 × 280 mm. Each page contains 34 to 38 lines written in a clear hand. On the back of fol. 1, opposite the beginning of the *Passion*, is a picture of the crucifixion; the large initial at the beginning of the poem is illuminated and the decoration continued as a border around the page; large initials in red; the long letters in the top and bottom lines are often lengthened into ornamental scrolls. The MS. was written in the Southern Midlands at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>5</sup> After the *explicit* of the *Northern Passion* the owner's name is inscribed : "Iste liber constat

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Catalogue of the Ashmolean MSS.* by Black (1845), p. 106. This MS. is assigned to the end of the fifteenth century by Hales and Furnivall (*Bishop Percy's Folio MS.*, London, 1868, II. p. 411), H. Gruber (*Zu dem mittelenglischen Dialog 'Ipo'is*, Berlin, 1887, p. 5), M. Kaluza (*Libeaus Desconis. Altenglische Bibliothek*, V. Leipzig, 1890, p. x), and A. Treichel (*Englische Studien*, XXII. 361); to the end of the fifteenth century or beginning of the sixteenth century by Zupitza (*Herrig's Archiv*, LXXXII. p. 210); to the beginning of the sixteenth century by G. Lüdtke (*The Erl of Toulous and the Emperes of Almayn. Sammlung Englischer Denkmäler*, Berlin, 1881, p. 1); to the middle of the fifteenth century by Hartsorne, *Ancient Metrical Tales* (London, 1829, p. xxiii); and to the second quarter of the fifteenth century by Zielke (*Sir Orfeo*, Breslau, 1880, p. 22).

<sup>2</sup> Rate is signed after articles 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, and Rathe after 29.

<sup>3</sup> Bryn Mawr College Monographs, Monograph Series, vol. ix (1911).

<sup>4</sup> Bannatyne Club, London, 1839; see also *Catalogue of Rawlinson MSS.* V. 2 (1878), pp. 27 ff. (no. 11951), and Hammond, *Chaucer, A Bibliographical Manual* (New York, 1908), p. 185.

<sup>5</sup> Madden, *loc. cit.*; *Catalogue*, p. 28.

[words erased] / Wyllielmus Aylsburrey Monachus / Sancti Saluatoris de Bermundesay.”<sup>1</sup> The priory of St. Saviour’s, Bermondsey, near London, was founded for Cluniac monks by Alwin Child, a citizen of London, in 1082.<sup>2</sup> No William Aylesbury is mentioned in connection with it, but the owner of **R** may be one of the family of Aylesbury living in Buckinghamshire,<sup>3</sup> Warwickshire<sup>4</sup> and Northamptonshire<sup>5</sup> in the fifteenth century. At a later period the MS. belonged to Randall D . . ., Wm. Howard of Naworth, and Knox Ward, Clarenceux King-of-Arms.<sup>6</sup>

Since this MS. came to my notice after the text of the *Passion* was already partially printed, I am not able to include the variant readings in footnotes. The loss, however, is not great, for the text of **R** has undergone so much modernization that few good readings are found which are not also in other MSS. Excerpts from the MS. may be found in *Variants and Fragments*, No. 2.

#### **H<sub>2</sub>.** *Harleian MS.* 215, fol. 161.

On the last folio of the MS., which contains Latin letters of Thomas à Becket, etc., and the *Evangelium Nicodemi*,<sup>7</sup> are vv. 300–438 of the *Northern Passion*. Fol. 161 is of parchment, 186 × 143 mm., 29–30 lines on a page, written in the South of England in the fifteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Each line in the MS. contains two lines of the *Passion*—the second verse of one couplet and the first verse of the succeeding couplet. This arrangement may be explained by supposing that the scribe began by writing a couplet to the line, but at some point skipped a verse which stood in his original. vv. 357–8 are written twice by mistake. The scribe is peculiar in his occasional use of *ih* for *i*: 308, 338 *ihe*; 361 *ihore*, and cf. *iow* 365.

This fragment, which was pointed out to me by Professor Carleton Brown when the text was already partially in proof, is printed in *Variants and Fragments*, No. 4.

#### **V.** *Cotton MS. Vespasian D. IX*, ff. 191–2.

Two leaves of the *Northern Passion* are bound up with various historical and other pieces in Cotton Vesp. D. IX. For a description of the MS. see Ward,

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 30b.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of St. Saviour’s, see *The Victoria County History of Surrey* (London, 1907), II. p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Berry, *Buckinghamshire Genealogies* (London, 1837), p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Dugdale, *Warwickshire* (London, 1730), p. 828.

<sup>5</sup> *Collectanea Topographica* (London, 1841), VII. 256.

<sup>6</sup> *Catalogue of Rawlinson MSS.* (Oxford, 1878), V. 2, p. 28.

<sup>7</sup> This narrative is printed from other MSS. by Tischendorf (*Evangelia Apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1876), pp. 353–416.

<sup>8</sup> According to the opinion kindly expressed to me by Mr. David T. Baird Wood, Superintendent of the MS. room in the British Museum.

*Catalogue of Romances* (1893), II. p. 539.<sup>1</sup> The fragment is on paper 135 × 197 mm., single columns of 27 lines, and was written in the Midlands about 1450.

This fragment, which was pointed out to me by Professor Carleton Brown after the text was partially in proof, is printed in *Variants and Fragments*, No. 5.

### § 2. The Expanded Version.

P. MS. Rawlinson Poetry 175, ff. 55b–76a.

A parchment MS., 136 ff. and a title page, 203 × 283 mm., double columns of 44 lines, clear hand; lines of Latin and a few large initials<sup>2</sup> in red; written about 1350<sup>3</sup> in the North of England, “owned in 1630 by Christofer Fauell, perhaps earlier by Raphe Wormoud. The MS. came to Rawlinson from the Thoresby Collection.”<sup>4</sup> The contents of the MS. (listed in the *Summary Catalogue of Bodleian MSS.* III. p. 321<sup>5</sup>) are all ascribed to Richard Rolle of Hampole by the late title page.

Though the *Passion* is here separate from the expanded version of the *Northern Homily Collection*, it is preceded<sup>6</sup> by the same heading as in T and H. “In parasceue domini / Passio domini nostri Iesu / christi secundum Marcum / Matheum Lucam + / Iohannem” (fol. 55b).

The MS. was pointed out to me by Professor Carleton Brown when the text of the *Passion* was already partially printed. I regret that the earliest of the three MSS. of the expanded version should not be incorporated in the text, but a list of the variants will be found below.<sup>6</sup>

T. Cotton MS. Tiberius E. VII. ff. 165a–184a.

A vellum MS., 281 ff., double columns of 48 lines, written in two hands, clear and much alike<sup>7</sup>: A. (ff. 1–81) *The Mirror of Life*, B. (ff. 82 to end) including the *Northern Passion*; large initials in blue and red, lines of Latin in red. Through injuries received in the Cottonian fire, the outer portion of the pages is destroyed, especially towards the bottom, so that the ends of many lines in the second col. of the recto as well as the beginnings of many in the first col. of the verso of each folio are lost. The pages, which now measure about 289 by 167 mm. are mounted on paper.

<sup>1</sup> This fragment describes the Agony in Gethsemane, not the Transfiguration as Ward states.

<sup>2</sup> Large initials in the *Passion* occur less frequently than in T and H, namely at vv. 2/1\*, 271, 432a, 635, 817, 149/11\*, 157/475\*, 161/607\*, 1439, 248/1\*.

<sup>3</sup> Madan, *Summary Catalogue*, III. 321.

<sup>4</sup> Madan, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> See also Napier, *Publications of Mod. Lang. Ass. of A.*, XIV. (1899), p. 459, and K. Campbell, *The Seven Sages of Rome* (Albion Series, 1907), p. xxxvii.

<sup>6</sup> See *Variants and Fragments*, No. 3.

<sup>7</sup> The first scribe is distinguishable by the use of the tailed r and long-stemmed f's and s's.

T was written in the North of England about 1400.<sup>1</sup> The contents are listed in Ward's *Catalogue of Romances* (1893), II. 740.<sup>2</sup>

### H. Harleian MS. 4196, ff. 67a–86a.

A vellum MS., 258 ff., 380 × 277 mm., double columns of 48 lines each; four scribes : A. (ff. 2–131) the *Northern Homily Collection*, including the *Passion*, a careful hand; B. (ff. 133a–164b) the first part of the Legend Collection; C. (ff. 165–205) remainder of the Legend Collection, copied from T;<sup>3</sup> D. (ff. 206–58). *Gospel of Nicodemus* and *Prick of Conscience*; initials of red, blue and gold, Latin lines in red; written in the North of England at the opening of the fifteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The MS. was owned by William Browne, the poet, in 1622, and by Wanley in 1725.<sup>5</sup> The contents of this MS. are listed by Ward.<sup>6</sup> Vv. 146 / 1\*–1506 of the *Passion* are printed from this MS. by Morris (E.E.T.S. 46, pp. 62–86) and vv. 1840g–248 / 10\* by Horstmann (Herrig's *Archiv.* LVII. 78–83).

## CHAPTER III

### DIALECT

#### § 1. *Introductory.*

THE title *Northern Passion*, by which our poem is conveniently distinguished from the *Southern Passion*,<sup>7</sup> a slightly earlier poem written in the South of England, is one which was first assigned it by Horstmann.<sup>8</sup> With the MS. evidence before us, however, it is necessary to consider again the question of the dialect in which the poem was originally composed. It is to be observed in the first place that only two of the eleven MSS. of the original poem are written in the Northern dialect; that Camb. Univ. MS. Gg. 1. 1, and Rawl. C. 655, the two earliest MSS., are Southern, and that it is not till the second half of the fourteenth century that a MS. appears in moderately pure Northern

<sup>1</sup> According to Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II. (1893), 740, and Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III. p. 331. Horstmann (*Altenglische Legenden*, neue Folge, pp. lxxviii–lxxix) dates it middle of fourteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> See also Horstmann, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxviii ff., and *Yorkshire Writers*, II. 274.

<sup>3</sup> See Horstmann, *op. cit.*, p. lxxvii, and McKnight, E. E. T. S. 14, pp. lii–liii.

<sup>4</sup> According to Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III. p. 327, and Hulme (E. E. T. S., Extra Series, C. pp. xxvi. ff.). By Horstmann (*loc. cit.*) it is dated middle of fourteenth century.

<sup>5</sup> E. E. T. S., C. p. xxvi.

<sup>6</sup> *Catalogue of Romances*, II. 739; see also Horstmann, *loc. cit.*, and Hulme, E. E. T. S., C. pp. xxvii–xxviii.

<sup>7</sup> A poem of long lines found in some MSS. of the *South English Legendary*. A fragment from Laud 108 is printed by Horstmann (*Leben Jesu*, Münster, 1873), and an extract from Harl. 2277 by Professor Carleton Brown in *Modern Language Notes*, XXVI. pp. 15–18. See also Dr. R. J. Peebles, *The Legend of Longinus* (Baltimore, 1911), pp. 93–96.

<sup>8</sup> Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, n. F., p. lxvi.

dialect. This being the case, the question arises whether this poem should not properly be styled the *Midland Passion*. Nevertheless, further study of the dialect assures us that it is really a Northern text, masquerading in some MSS. under a Southern disguise. For the rhyme words,<sup>1</sup> always the surest means of distinguishing the dialect of the author from that of the scribe, show that the poem is Northern, or, not to be too precise, belongs to the Northern half of England. This conclusion, based upon the evidence of language, is supported by the close connection of the poem with Northern literature. Not only does it occur in two MSS.<sup>2</sup> in close proximity to the *Northern Homily Collection*, but in the fourteenth century it was incorporated in that collection as the sermon for Good Friday.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the playwrights of the two Northern cycles of Miracle Plays, York and Towneley, prove their familiarity with the *Passion* by their use of it in the plays. There is no doubt, therefore, that the poem is rightly designated the *Northern Passion*.

The determination of the original home of the *Northern Passion* affords material assistance in dealing with the questions of dialect which the several MSS. present. In the case of some of these MSS., Northern and Southern forms are almost equally numerous : the Northern 3 pers. sing. pres., ending -es divides the field with the Southern -eth, and both forms of the infinitive ending appear indiscriminately : without final -n as in the North, and with final -n as in the South and Midland. Under these circumstances we may assume that the original poem contained the Northern forms, and that the Southern forms are due to a Midland or Southern scribe. If a MS. presents a uniform dialect, end-rhymes agreeing with usage in the middle of the line, the dialect is probably that in which the poem was written ; but when Northern and Southern forms are mixed, we may regard the Northern forms as survivals of the original dialect showing through the Southern colouring which the transcriber has given to the text. Furthermore, the fact that the original poem was Northern, gives importance to every distinctly Southern form that appears : a participle with the Southern prefix *y-* or the rare occurrence of initial *w-* for O.E. *hw-* is enough to show that a Southern scribe has at some time transcribed the text.

### § 2. Dialect Tests.

In determining the dialect of each MS. I have made use of the following principles :<sup>4</sup>

1. O.E. ā remains unchanged in the North, but in the Midland and South becomes o.

<sup>1</sup> For the evidence in detail see below, § 3.

<sup>2</sup> Camb. Univ. MSS. Gg. 5. 31 and Dd. 1. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> The tests are adapted from the lists of Kaluza (*Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, Berlin, 1907), II. pp. 12–14, and Morsbach (*Mittelenglische Grammatik*, Halle, 1896), pp. 12–24.

2. In Kentish *e* frequently represents O.E. *āe*, which elsewhere becomes *a*.
3. For O.E. *āe* before *r* in adverbs and verbs, we generally find *a* in the North, in the North Midland *o*, in the rest of the Midland and the South usually *e*, rarely *a*.
4. For O.E. *a*, *ea* before *ld*, the North has *a*, the Midland and South (except Kent) *o*, and Kent *e*.
5. O.E. *y*, *ȳ* in the North and Midland regularly becomes *i*; in Kent *e*, in the South-west *u*.
6. For O.E. *c* (*k*), the North regularly has *k*, the Midland and South generally *ch*.
7. O.E. *hw* in the North becomes *qu*, in the Midland *wh*, in the South *w*.
8. In Kentish the initial voiceless spirant *f-* becomes *v-*.
9. As the plural ending of substantives, the North uses *-es* almost exclusively; the Midland and South use both *-es* and *-en*.
10. The personal pronoun of the feminine singular in the North is *sco*, *scho*, in the Midland *ȝho*, *ȝhe*, *scho*, *sche*, in the South *heo*, *he*; the third plural personal pronoun in the North is *pai*, *þair*, *þaim* or *þam*, in the Midland *þei*, *her*, *hem*, in the South *hi*, *here*, *hem*. The plural of the demonstrative pronoun appears in the North as *þir*, *þer*, elsewhere as *þese*. In the North we find *slik*, *suilk*, for *swich* and *such*.
11. The preterit plural of strong verbs in the North has usually taken over the vowel of the singular, while in the Midland and South the distinction in vowels is for the most part preserved. Preterit-present verbs have usually one form for 3 pers. sing. and pl. in the North (*sall*, *may*, *wate*, etc.), but in the Midland and South the vowel of the 3 pers. pl. is different from that of the sing. (*schal* and *schul*, *may* and *mowe*, *wote* and *wite*, etc.).
12. In the second conjugation weak the derivative suffix *-i-* has disappeared in the North and Midland, but is frequently retained in the South.
13. The final *-n* of the infinitive and preterit plural had wholly disappeared in the North at a time when it was still generally preserved in the Midland and South.
14. The final *-n* of the strong preterit participle was regularly retained in the North, but usually disappeared in the Midland and South.
15. The O.E. prefix *ge-* in the preterit participle was no longer used in the North at a time when it was still frequently retained in the South as *i-* or *y-*.
16. The personal endings of the pres. ind. are :

North	Midland	South
3 sing. <i>-es</i>	<i>-es</i> , <i>-eþ</i>	<i>-eþ</i>
plural <i>-es</i> , <i>-e</i>	<i>-en</i> , <i>-e</i>	<i>-eþ</i>

17. The present participle in the North has the ending *-and*, in the Midland *-end(e)*, later *-inge*, in the South *-inde*, later *-inge*.

18. In the North we find the words *tane*, *bus*, *thethyn*, *thusgates*, *omell*, *till* (prep.), *whills*, *at* (= *that*), which do not occur in Southern texts.

The results of these tests are given below in word-lists classified under the several principles of the foregoing list. Since the poem is Northern and most of the MSS. Midland, we should not expect to find such Southern characteristics as the prefix *y-* on the preterit participle, or the retention of the *-i*-suffix in weak verbs of the second class, and, as a matter of fact, these phenomena are rare. It has not seemed wise, therefore, to make a list from each MS. of forms which lack these Southern characteristics, but whenever they occur, I have noted them. Before discussing the separate MSS. I have tested the rhyme words in the original version of the poem, in order to present the evidence for the opinion expressed above, that the author wrote in a Northern dialect.

### § 3. *The Rhyme Words of the Original Version.*

The rhymes of the *Passion* are Northern. The only exception is that O.E. *a*, when not followed by *w*, becomes *o*. But inasmuch as Fröhlich<sup>1</sup> has shown that *o*-forms occasionally appear in the rhymes of Northern poems, the *Passion* may be assigned to the Southern border of the Northern dialect.<sup>2</sup>

1. O.E. *ā* final, or before *n > o*; before *w > a*: *onone*: *Iohn* 10, 179, 611, 618, 1739; *so*: *to* 451, 773, 1385; *ilkone*: *Iohn* 496, 557; *do*: *alssō* 621; *onone*: *apon* 735; *so*: *do* 945, 1159, 1271, 1481; *onone*: *don* 1600, 1642, etc.; but *drawe*: *thrawe* 60; *felawes*: *plawes* 169; *knaue*: *sawe* 521, etc.

6. O.E. *c (k)* was written *k*, not softened to *ch*: *seke*: *meke* 98, 146, 301, 530, 539.

9. *Hand* has the Northern plural *hende*<sup>3</sup> rhyming with *frende* 217.

13. The infinitive lacks the Southern ending *-n*: *all*: *call* 22; *all*: *befall* 32; *waa*: *sla* 50; *abide*: *besyde* 51; *ryse*: *wyse* 53; *rede*: *deed* 55; *tyme*: *ryme* 58; *drawe*: *thrawe* 59; *cite*: *see* 64; *fole*: *thole* 68; *wende*: *hende* 71, 75; *say*: *way* 77, 187; *ryfe*: *lyfe* (sb.) 93; *meke*: *seke* 98, 146; *ill*: *spyll* 128; *wyll*: *spyll* 138; *dwelle*: *helle* 153; *mede*: *lede* 158; *mete*: *strete* 181, etc.; but exceptions occur: *euirilkone*: *gone* 26; *sayn*: *agayne* 431; *onone*: *gone* 464, 956, 987, 1861, 1991; *onone*: *don* 688; *bene* (pret. pple.): *sene* (inf.) 755; *gane*: *manyane* 1065; *woman*: *gane* 1982; *sene* (pret. pple.): *flene* (inf.) 2048.

<sup>1</sup> *De Lamentacione sancte Marie* (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 53-4.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Towneley Plays* (Southern Yorkshire) O.E. *ā > o*: *wo*: *fordo* : *floo* III. 116; *fone*: *done*, III. 99; but before *-w* it is *a*: *traw* : *draw* : *knew* : *daw*, III. 244. These rhymes are all from the *Noah Play*, which is definitely connected with Wakefield by a MS. note (*The Towneley Plays*, E. E. T. S. LXXI. pp. xxii and 23).

<sup>3</sup> *Cursor Mundi*, 3566, 17142, *Prick of Conscience*, 3214, *Towneley Mysteries*, I. 262.

14. The pret. pple. of strong verbs ends in *-n*: *onone* : *gone* 476, 537, 724, 823; *gon* : *euchon* 1319, 2006; *gane* : *nane* 1489, 1629, 1842; *don* : *anon* 1641; *done* : *none* 1783; *stone* : *gone* 1934, 2044, 2055; exception *crawe* : *thrave* 409 and cf. *halde* (pret. pple.) : *talde* (preterit plural) 1181.

16. The pres. 2 and 3 pers. sing. end in *-s*: *iudas* : *has* 552; *dedis* : *dredis* 668.

17. The pres. pple. has the Northern ending *-ande* : *hande* : *trauailande* 174; *bledande* : *hande* 585.

#### § 4. G<sub>1</sub>.

G<sub>1</sub> was copied by a Southern<sup>1</sup> scribe. The dialect is in general Southern, but occasional Northern forms survive. The peculiarities of language are in large measure due to the scribe's ignorance of English. Two characteristics occur which are probably typical of the English written by the Normans: (1) the uncertainty in regard to initial *h*: *heuchon* 10, 1051; *his* (vb.) 160; *hende* 372; *hi* (pron. first pers.) 532; *ham* (first pers. of vb. *be*) 532; *hup* 567; *hille* 779, 1033, 1112; *hout* 938; *hanswering* 993; *hiuele* 1490, beside *is* 820, *astou* 1493; and (2) the avoidance of guttural *-gh*<sup>2</sup> (*abouth* 4, *noth* 5, *þoth* 38, *mitht* 408, *lith* 460, *rith* 562, *noht* 579, *roth* 588, *riyth* 593, *þotht* 697, *brothen* 932, etc.). The difficulties of a French scribe writing English would be increased by the fact that he was here transcribing a Northern MS.

1. O.E. *ā* > *o*: *soweles* 5; *throwe* 60; *cnowa* 264; *lore* 287b; *crowe* 409; *þrowe* 410; *cnowe* 732; *owen* 884; *gon* 1319; *euchon* 1320; *anon* 1339; *more* 1365; *no* 1374; *hole* 1405; *holi* 1407, etc.; exceptions: *felawes* 169 (rhyming with *plawes*), *felawe* 719; *felawes* 2022 (rhyming with *plaies*).

2. O.E. *æ* sometimes becomes *e*, as in Kentish: *meste* 156; *sein* 207 (for *setin*), *setin* 209; *mest* 840.

3. O.E. *æ* + *r* > *e*: *weren* 1321, 1322; *þer* 1324, 1338, 1396; *were* 1327, 1395, 1404; *werin* 1330; *þere* 1366, 1406, etc.; beside *þar* 96, 276, 1321, 1374, 1376; *þare* 958, etc.

4. O.E. *a*, *ea* before *ld* > *o*: *solde* 129, 833; *bold* 245, 681; *isold* 246; *manifolde* 834; *soldest* 843; *toldest* 844; *holdeth* 948; *tolden* 1346, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Horstmann, *Altenglische Legende*, n. F., p. lxvi.

<sup>2</sup> MS. confusion between *c* and *t* makes it difficult to determine whether *-tht* or *-cht* has been written; but since *-cht* is a late Scottish form, it is probable that *-tht* should be read in the majority of instances. Mätzner in editing the *Proverbs of Hendyng* from this MS. (*Altenglische Sprachproben*, I. 1867, pp. 304 ff.) always reads *-t-*, and remarks, "In unserem Texte steht *y-soht* nach einer vielfach anzutreffenden graphischen Unart für *y-soht*, 'sought,' obwohl daneben auch die berechtigten Konsonantenverbindungen erscheinen. Aehnlich findet sich hier: *fylht* 77, *cloht* 111, *uroht* 112, etc." (p. 305). Horstmann is apparently wrong in reading *fichten*, *dichten*, etc. in vv. 2085–6 of the *Northern Passion* (*Altenglische Legenden*, n. F., p. lxvi), and throughout the text of this MS. *-t-* is probably the correct reading in this combination.

5. O.E. *y* is sometimes represented by *u*: *sturte* 266; *sullen* 415; *nulleȝ* 424; *furst* 468; *lustet* 1019; *lustneȝ* 1061 (MS. *Sustneȝ*); *burthzen* 1567, etc.

6. *c (k)* is regularly *ch*: *ich* 158, 188, 240, 356 (oftener *I*); *seche* 537; *penche* 738; *tristilich* 1076; *lolich* 1099; *euchon* 1320, 1330; *chirche* 1342b; *wirche* 1353; *euche* 1391, 1397, 1418, etc., beside *seke* 539 (rhyming with *mek*).

7. O.E. *hw* > *w*: *wan* 95, 265, 271, 287g, 1343, 1353, 1398; *wer* 370, 1373; *wile* 408, 430; *wi* 928; *wen* 1394; *wo* 1399, etc.

8. O.E. *f* occasionally becomes *v*: *vair* 163; *veir* 176; *vadir* 449; *vomen* 512; *vire* 683; *vader* 1791 and cf. *ver* 845 (= *wer*).

9. Occasional Southern plurals of substantives occur: *eyien* 736; *tren* 1321, 1322; *gamen* 1328; *knen* 1887.

10. Among the pronouns we find Northern, Midland and Southern forms: 3 pers. sing. fem.: *yio* 104; *ho* 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 118; *ha* 105, 689, 691; 3 pers. plural: *þai* 91, 1026, 1327; *þei* 1304, 1307, 1318, 1320, 1327, 1342b, 1344; *hii* 24; *hi* 62, 604; *a<sup>1</sup>* 201, 589, 604, 605, 676, 878, 1000; *her* 18, 21, 23, 31, 1402, 1406; *har* 1346; *hem* 1361, 1402; *ham* 137, 502; *suche* 150; *such* 388, 1118; *þesilke* 649; *þilke* 39; *þes* 161, 544, 652.

11. The preterit plural of strong verbs is not like the 3 sing.; and pret. pres. verbs distinguish the vowel of the plural from that of the sing. Pret. plural: *speken* 24, 968, 1032, 1036; *setin* 207, 209; *berin* 1354; *letin* 1360; *breken* 1629, etc., beside *sprange* 13; *gan* 1363. Pret. pres.: *wite* 32; *mowen* 64; *schulle* 65; *sschulle* 139; *sschul* 377, 414; *sschuleȝ* 379; *schullen* 1492; *mou* 1662, etc., beside *ssal* 1026.

13. The infinitive generally lacks final *-n*, and the preterit plural usually keeps it, but there are many exceptions in both cases: inf. *late* 1298; *þriue* 1298; *sprede* 1333; *mak* 1339; *wirche* 1353; *falle* 1360; *take* 1363; *hause* 1369; *abide* 1375, 1377, etc.; beside *speken* 18; *leien* 84; *criein* 178; *quellen* 416; *seruen* 1340; *risen* 1342; *bathen* 1400, etc. Pret. plural: *comyn* 17; *spekyn* 24; *stodin* 639; *gonen* 640; *fallen* 862; *stoden* 1320; *berin* 1354; *letin* 1360; *sworin* 1366; *slongen* 1372, etc.; beside *sprange* 13; *gon* 76a, 93, 198, 1353; *come* 425; *droth* 628; *con* 798; *droth* 1355; *gun* 1363; *seith* 1396, etc.

14. The pret. pple. usually ends in *-n*: *lorn* 34; *yeuen* 130; *nomen* 386; *nomin* 1307; *koruen* 1308; *waxin* 1332; *comin* 1409; *sworin* 1471; *forlorn* 1472; *boren* 1541, etc.; beside *ibore* 287a (rhyming with *lore* sb.); *icome* 287c (rhyming with *some*); *ismite* 568.

15. The prefix *i-* or *y-* for older *ge-* is frequent: *ipreisid* 96; *ibore* 287a; *icome* 287c; *ysouped* 287g; *ismite* 568; *ydon* 1024; *ibrotht* 1343, etc.

16. In the pres. tense, the 3 sing. ends in *-it*, *-itȝ*, *-eth*, *-iȝt*; plural *-eth*, *-et*,

<sup>1</sup> *a* as 3 pers. pronoun occurs in Southern MSS.; see Mätzner, *Altenglische Sprachproben*, II. p. 1.

-en. 3 sing.: *seit* 243, 911; *hauit* 263; *goȝt* 383; *bihouit* 754; *biouit* 873; *seth* 913; *biouit* 926; *holdeth* 948; *fallit* 950; *hauit* 975; *rewith* 1004, etc. Plural: *habit* 140; *clipetȝ* 357; *soffreth* 369; *spreden* 384; *luit* 790; *waiten* 1016; *þenketh* 1124; *han* 1410; *gette* 1460; *stonditȝ* 1546; *wene* 2064, etc.

17. The pres. pple. ends in -ind, -end or -ing: *comind* 480; *wepind* 744; *slepind* 1097; *wakend* 441; *quikend* 442; *fleyend* 460; *wepend* 479; *trauailling* 174; *bleding* 585; *coming* 959; *talking* 983, etc.

### § 5. C.

The dialect of C is that of the south-western part of England. It is probable that the MS. was written at Wells; for according to the marginal note on fol. 1<sup>1</sup> it was owned in Wells in the eighteenth century, and a comparison of the language with that of the speech of Caiaphas, the Palm-Sunday prophet, which Professor Carleton Brown <sup>2</sup> locates at Wells, reveals many similarities.<sup>3</sup> Peculiarities of this text<sup>4</sup> are (1) the use of *u* for *e* in unaccented end-syllables (*lawus* 11, *vertuuſ* 13; *Iuſ* 15; *gederiuſ* 19; *worduſ* 669, 672, 702; *fadur* 792; *peniuſ* 832; *platuſ* 851, etc., and (2) the use of *ou* or *ow* for O.E. *ō* (*foute* 138.\* *goude* 147,\* 285, 420, 515; *anouþer* 294; *forsouþ* 665; *forþouþe* 728; *forsouþe* 830; *souþ* 917, etc.). The first of these is characteristic of the west Midlands,<sup>5</sup> and may be due to an earlier scribe; the latter is found in Layamon (*goud*<sup>6</sup> and *goudne*<sup>7</sup>).

1. O.E. *ā>o* unless followed by *w* when it gives *a*: *so* 13\*; *holy* 21\*, 28\*, 35\*; *stones* 44\*, 47\*; *no* 65\*; *ston* 65\*; *go* 82\*, 102\* etc.; *beside* *namore* 86\*; *wam* 58; *stale* 213; *saule* 178\*, 863; *þraue* 60, 635; *knaue* 521; *ffelawe* 628a; *ffelaw* 719; *knaue* 732; *craue* 733, etc.; but *krownen* 409; *knouen* 614; *þrow* 643; *know* 644.

2. O.E. *ā>e*: *þere* 23\*, 85\*, 111\*, 101, 195; *þerein* 8; *þeron* 75; *were* 141\*, 147\*, 188\*; *beside* *pore* (rhyming with *sore*) 728.

3. O.E. *a*, *ea* before *ld* gives *o*: *ysold* 86k; *ytolde* 86l; *bolde* 245; *ysolde* 246; *solde* 499; *tolde* 500; *folden* 623; *holden* 624, etc.

4. O.E. *y* gives *u*, sometimes *e*: *yhurde* 31\*; *furſt* 38\*, 250, 255; *sunful* 72\*, 104; *sunne* 109\*, 834; *þurst* 186\*; *sunnus* 110; *ȝutt* 362, etc.; *beside* *senne* 92\*, 95\*, 104\*, 117\*, 122, 233; *senful* 94\*; *sweche* 763; and *synne* 10\*.

6. O.E. *c(k)>ch*: *euerich* 3\*; *wyslyche* 23\*; *riche* 118\*; *theche* 158\*; *echone* 26; *eche* 116, 120; *michel* 124; *seche* 537; *fouliche* 678; *techinge* 749; *wirche* 1353, etc.; *beside* *preke* 157\*; *micael* 96; *seke* 98; *sek* 146; *tekinge* 753, 790; *kerke* 1354.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Kittredge Anniversary Papers* (Boston, 1913), pp. 116–117.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 111 ff. C contains no instance of *oe* for O.E. *eo*.

<sup>4</sup> The citations of C are from *Variants and Fragments*, No. 1. Line numbers followed by a star refer to the first 196 lines.

<sup>5</sup> Morsbach, *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Madden Rolls Series, I. 170.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 150.

7. O.E. *hw* usually becomes *w*, but a few *qu-* forms appear : *wat* 4\*, 5\*, 153\*, 32; *wenne* 25\*, 86c, 95; *wan* 53\*, 69\*, 155\*, *wanne* 104\*; *hoso* 141\*; *wam* 58; *were* 177; *wyche* 256, etc.; beside *qwat* 189\*; *quat* 2025, 2070; *queder* 2044; *quen* 2084 and *when* 1999.

8. O.E. initial *f* sometimes becomes *v* : *vor* 2\*, 61\*, 64\*, 91\*, 181\*; *vorto*, 154\*; *pervore* 175\*; *vol* 89, etc.

9. Occasional Southern plurals of nouns occur : *honden* 589, 600b; *eizen* 800.

10. The pronouns are Midland or Southern : *þey* 126\*, 153\*, 169\*, 172\*, 17, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51; *þei* 198, 199; *hii* 133\*, 135\*, 138\*, 51, 511, 512; *hy* 200, 201; beside *thai* 2000, 2003, 2004; *þe* 171\*; *here* 126\*, 18, 82, 512; *hire* 162\*; *hore* 135\*; *hem* 125\*, 158\*, 19, 22, 81, 90, 171; *þem* 137, 138; fem. pron. : *he* 104, 105, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 689, 690, 691; beside *scho* 1982, 1992; *sche* 1993.

11. The preterit plural of strong verbs has the vowel of the singular, and preterit-present verbs have usually one form for plural and third singular. Preterit plural : *spak* 24, 519; *fonde* 73, 1292; *zaue* 163; *zaf* 799; *sate* 998; *bond* 1195, 1201, etc.; beside *seten* 209; *speken* 1032; *gun* 1281. Pret. pres. : *schal* 105\*; *ssal* 135, 143, 184, 235, 391, 414, 429, 666, 791; *may* 137, 264; *maye* 595, etc.; beside *wite* 32, 356; *sulle* 181; *ssolle* 185, 187; *mouwe* 222.

13. The infinitive, and the preterit plural of strong verbs are usually without final *-n*. Inf. : *telle* 4\*; *bringe* 6\*; *wynne* 9\*; *fulfille* 20\*; *wone* 34\*; *fonde* 43\*, 55\*, 69\*; *bygile* 54\*; *drede* 69\*, etc.; beside *gone* 25; *don* 42; *sain* 431. Pret. plural : *spredde* 13, 82; *spak* 24, 519; *com* 175; *bygonne* 297, 609; *slep* 484; *swore* 550; *gonne* 677; *gon* 798, etc.; beside *seten* 209; *quoken* 254; *blawen* 516.

14. The preterit participle of strong verbs usually takes *-n* : *forlorne* 34; *gon* 52; *don* 104, 167; *zolden* 142; *writen* 143; *bonden* 167; *comen* 191, etc.; beside *bede* 62\*; *take* 194\*; *forsake* 247; *comme* 245, 374.

15. The preterit participle frequently has the prefix *y-* : *ybozte* 8\*; *yhurde* 31\*; *ywryte* 61\*; *yfonden* 113\*; *ybonden* 114\*; *yfallen* 141\*; *ysold* 86k; *ytolde* 86l; *ydo* 141, etc.

16. The endings of the third pers. pres. are sing *-ep*, plural *-ep*. Sing. : *hauep* 8\*; *berep* 30\*; *lyuep* 49\*; *finep* 102\*; *hauep* 106\*, 113\*, 37; *saiep* 107\*; *zymep* 168\*; *seiep* 35; *criep* 114; *þinkep* 127, etc.; beside *likes* 34\*; *says* 41\*; *aues* 62\*; *sais* 101\*; *ledes* 165\* and *sait* 204; *eilet* 777. Plural : *leuep* 1\*; *redep* 26\*; *sofrep* 160\*, 161\*; *soffryep* 170\*; *letep* 25; *hauep* 304, etc.; beside *rede* 103; *loue* 159; *calle* 316; *bind* 591; and *biddet* 345.

17. The pres. pple. ends in *-and(e)* : *trauailande* 174; *wakande* 441; *quakande* 442; *fleand* 460; *slepan* 486; *bysettand* 514; *farande* 586; *liuand* 659, etc.; beside *stondende* 66; *comende* 480; *bledende* 585; *spidende* 677; and *slepinde* 467; *wepinde* 479.

18. Northern forms occurring are *til* or *tille* (prep.): 14\*; 422, 520; *als* 167\*, 9, 284, etc.

### § 6. G<sub>5</sub>.

This MS.<sup>1</sup> preserves the Northern dialect without any serious admixture of Southern forms; the language of this MS. is the nearest of any to that in which the poem was composed.

1. O.E. ā usually becomes *o*: *one* 10; *euirilkone* 25; *gone* 26; *nokynns* 54; *two* 61; *clothis* 82; *onone* 133; *mo* 234; *sore* 455; *more* 456, etc.; but in many cases O.E. ā is represented by *a*: *haly* 38, 103; *sla* 40; *waa* 49; *slaa* 50; *gane* 52; *nakynns* 53; *na* 54; *whame* 58; *sare* 110, etc.; before *w*, *a* is regular: *sawles* 4; *saules* 5; *thrawe* 60, 410; *awen* 146; *felawys* 169; *awne* 189; *knaw* 264; *crawe* 409; *knavē* 521, etc.

3. O.E. ē before *r* in verbs and adverbs is written *a*, rarely *o*: *þare* 8, 10, 31, 60, 74, 76; *war* 52, 74, 126, 252; *whare* 240, 397, etc.; but note *whore* 177; *or* 386; and *wer* 364.

4. O.E. *a*, *ea* before *-ld* appears as *a*: *hald* (adj.) 11; *hald* (vb.) 177, 238; *bald* 245; *sald* 246, 829, 843; *faldyn* 623; *haldyn* 624; *vnbald* 681; *cald* 682; *tald* 844, etc.; beside *sold* 895; *told* 896.

6. O.E. *c* (*k*) is written *k*: *wyrke* 18; *seke* 98, 146, 301; *ilke* 120, 288; *ilkone* 134, 257, 350, 363, 364; *whylk* 143/111\*; *swylk* 143/133\*; *kyrke* 144/215\*, etc.

9. The Northern plural *hend* occurs 217.

10. The pronouns appear under Northern forms: *scho* 104, 105, 106, 107, 108; *þai* 17, 19, 25, 41, 47; *þaire* 24, 82; *þare* 18; *þaime* 22, 25, 41, 83, 90; *þir* 145. Beside these regular forms, we find the 3 pers. plural nom. *þa* 28, 40, 74, 79, 197.

11. The preterit plural of strong verbs has taken the vowel of the singular; and pret. pres. verbs have one form for 3 sing. and plural. Preterit plural: *spake* 24, 25, 376; *gan* 71; *fand* 73, 199; *began* 87, 297; *gafe* 163; *satte* 207; *sat* 209, etc. Pret. pres.: *wote* 32; *sall* 68, 135, 139, 181, 184, 187, 195; *may* 137, 196, 222, 264, etc.

13. The inf. and the preterit plural of strong verbs are without final *-n*. Inf.: *dwell* 8; *fulfyll* 11; *call* 22; *folow* 28; *abide* 51; *lese* 68; *hafē* 105; *crafē* 106, etc. Preterit plural: *spake* 24, 25, 376; *tuke* 36; *gan* 71, 198; *fand* 73; *began* 87, 297; *gafe* 163; *satte* 207, etc.

14. The pret. pple. of strong verbs ends in *-n*: *forlorne* 34; *ȝholden* 142; *writen* 143; *comyn* 191, 245; *takyn* 247, 386; *borne* 252; *taken* 325; *forsaken* 326; *wryten* 381, etc.

16. The endings of the present tense are 3 sing. *-es*, plural (-*e*), *-es*. 3 sing. :

<sup>1</sup> On the dialect of the *Northern Homily Collection* in this MS. see Hortsmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, n. F., p. lxv, and Gerould, *The North-English Homily Collection*, p. 6.

*hase* 3, 248; *behouys* 88, 294, 307, 319; *sayse* 127; *has* 141, 246; *says* 181, 243; *ethes* 261; *forgetis* 262; *berys* 309; *beris* 311; *fallys* 339, etc.; but *methynke* 127, 304. Plural: *acordys* 10; *strewes* 84; *redis* 103; *has* 290; *suffyrs* 369; *we lat* 26; *ȝhe hafe* 304; *we pray* 345; and see 308; call 316.

17. The pres. pple. ends in *-and*: *standand* 66; *trauailand* 174; *wakand* 441; *gwakand* 442; *flyghand* 460; *wepand* 479; *comand* 480, etc.; beside *comyng* 959 (rhyming with *walkyng* sb.).

18. Northern words occurring are *tyll* (prep.) 56, 59, 202, etc.; *at* (= þat) 64; *to-whyls* 430. The forms *weynd* 70, 198; *heynd* 197; *heyndly* 216; *freynd* 218, are paralleled in the *Towneley Plays*<sup>1</sup> by *heynd* VII. 174; *feynd* VII. 171; *weynd* II. 132.

### § 7. D.

**D** is stated by Horstmann<sup>2</sup> and Gerould<sup>3</sup> to be in Southern dialect; but since it lacks many characteristics usually present in Southern MSS. (e.g. nos. 7, 10, 12, 15 in the list of § 2, and -þ as ending of 3 plural pres.), it may more probably be ascribed to the South Midland.

1. O.E. *ā* > *o*: *anon* 566, 611, 693, 718, 723; *more* 568, 743; *whoso* 569; *holy* 586; *so* 612, 633, 773; *alone* 617; *throue* 643; *knowe* 644; *owne* 673; *gone* 673; *gon* 694; *crowe* 733, etc.; beside *felaw* 719.

3. O.E. *ǣ* before *r* becomes *e* when the word is within the line, but *o* when the word is in rhyme: *were* 579, 590, 592, 1194b; *there* 617, 1521; *where* 750; *per* 1199, 1210, 1214, 1386; *wherto* 1541, etc.; beside *thore* 728, 1188, 1242a, 1366, 1406; *wore* 750; *whore* 1242b.

4. O.E. *a*, *ea* before *-ld* gives *o*: *folde* 623; *bolde* 624; *bold* 681; *cold* 682, etc.; beside *halde* 1214b.

5. O.E. *y*, though usually represented by *i*, is found as *e* in *sterfe* 631; *ferst* 1399; beside *stirte* 771.

6. O.E. *c* (*k*) > *ch*, or *k*: *moche* 572, 1216, 1627, 1652; *swich* 763, 1463, 1725, etc.; beside *ilke* 1611, 1728; *euerilkon* 1267; *mekil* 636a, 636c, 644, 1568, 1572, etc.

7. O.E. *hw* occurs as *wh*: *whan* 565, 666a, 721; *what* 633, 675, 691; *whos* 716, 748; *where* 750; *wher* 757; *whi* 763, etc.

8. *F* is a voiceless spirant and is not written *v* as in the South: *farin* 594; *fyre* 683; *fere* 692; *face* 701; *folow* 704a; *folk* 740; *sel* 768, etc.

10. The pronouns have Midland forms: *sche* 688, 689; *þei* 588, 589, 604, 605, 626, 627; *hire* 667, 1372; *hem* 632, 752, 759, 765.

11. The preterit plural of strong verbs is found in two forms and pret. pres. verbs have two forms for the plural. Preterit plural: *gunne* 626; *smelin* 680;

<sup>1</sup> E. E. T. S., LXXI!

<sup>2</sup> Altengl. Leg., n. F., p. lxvii.

<sup>3</sup> The North-English Homily Collection, p. 6.

*streuyn* 722; *smette* 1215; *dreuyn* 1622; beside *began* 640, 1953; *gan* 1363, 1607, 1614, 1617, 1648; *mate* 1364. Pret. pres.: *schul* 642, 666, 1460, 1494, 1538a, 1539, 1545, 1546, etc.; beside *schal* 1185, *may* 648a, 706, 767, 1535.

13. The infinitive is frequently found with *-n*, perhaps more frequently without; the preterit plural of strong verbs is usually without *-n*. Inf.: *cryen* 640; *gapin* 640; *casten* 643; *reysen* 646; *knowin* 648a; *comen* 666a, etc., beside *tyde* 633; *abide* 634; *deme* 667; *crye* 672b; *chide* 700; *threte* 718, etc. Preterit plural: *bond* 589; *gunne* 626; *fond* 637; *stod* 639; *come* 713; *felle* 1204; *smette* 1215; *mate* 1364; *gan* 1412, etc.; but forms with *n* occur: *smetin* 680; *betin* 1197; *sworin* 1366; *drowin* 1411.

15. There are no instances of the prefix *y-* or *i-* for older *ge-*.

16. The 3 pers. sing. pres. ends in *-(i)p*; plural in *-e*, *-n*: 3 pers. sing.: *smytip* 568; *behouip* 581; *stondip* 641; *þenkip* 652; *hap* 672c, etc.; beside *dredis* 668 (rhyming with *dedis*) and *contynuys* 1397. Plural: *knowe* 571; *bynde* 591; *ley* 653; *sey* 654; *bid* 1247; beside *han* 766; *seen* 1246a.

17. The present participle ends in *-ande* or *-ing*: *bledande* 585; *brennand* 683; *standing* 689.

One Southern<sup>1</sup> characteristic of D is the exclusive use of *h* for *gh* before *t*: *myhte* 572, 574, 633; *briht* 573; *nyht* 574, 594; *þouht* 588, 604.

### § 8. Ad.

Robert Thornton of East Newton, Yorkshire,<sup>2</sup> who transcribed Ad, wrote in Northern dialect, and since the poem is also Northern, we should expect the dialect to be fairly uniform. The presence of many Midland and a few Southern forms, however, indicates that Thornton was copying from a MS. written by a Midland scribe. Likewise in the case of the *Morte Arthure* in Thornton's MS. at Lincoln, Morris<sup>3</sup> points out that a Midland MS. lies behind Thornton's text.

1. O.E. *ā* before *w* remains *a*, elsewhere it appears as *a* or *o*: *saules* 4; *saulis* 5; *thrawe* 60; *awene* 146; *felawes* 169; *knaue* 264; *crawyng* 409; *awes* 761; *alswa* 9; *ylkane* 26; *fra* 39; *wa* 49; *slaa* 50; *na* 54; *whame* 58; *twa* 61; *haly* 103; *sare* 110; *gase* 384, etc.; beside *holy* 10; *no* 42; *ilkone* 48; *anone* 165; *fro* 342; *also* 359; *gose* 382; *two* 625, etc.

3. O.E. *āe* before *r* in verbs and adverbs usually becomes *a*, but sometimes *e*: *thare* 60, 102, 195; *þare* 101, 283; *whare* 177; *ware* (vb.) 252, 364; *ware* (adv.) 397; beside *perfor* 131; *therefore* 222; *perinne* 234; *werene* 353; *were* 592.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ancren Riwle* (ed. Morton, *Camden Society*, 1853), *riht*, *ouhte*, *rihþeð* (p. 2), *mikhe* (p. 4), *muhten* (p. 8), etc. For avoidance of guttural *gh* due to French influence, see above, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Morris, *Early English Alliterative Poems* (E. E. T. S. 1), pp. vi-vii and note.

4. O.E. *a*, *ea* before *ld* > *a* : *halde* 238; *balde* 681; *calde* 682; *salde* 833, 843; *many falde* 834; *talde* 844; *haldes* 948, etc.; beside *olde* 11 and *solde* 129; *baulde* 245; *saulde* 246 (cf. *haulle* 189).

6. O.E. *c* (*k*) is written *k* : *ylke* 14, 120; *ylkane* 26; *ylkadele* 116; *mekill* 162, 456; *seke* 301, 530, etc.

7. O.E. *hw* > *wh* : *whate* 32; *whame* 58; *whene* 95, 161; *what* 157; *where* 177; *whane* 203; *whan* 265; *whilke* 299, etc.; beside *wylke* 256 and *ware* 397.

10. The pronouns are Northern in form : *scho* 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111, etc.; *thay* 17, 26, 57, 201; *þay* 19, 40, 41, 47, 50, 51; *þaire* 18, 23, 82; *thaire* 24; *þame* 17, 19, 22, 41, 62, 81; *swylke* 150, 196, 340, 763; *whilke* 299.

11. For the most part the preterit plural of strong verbs has the vowel of the singular, and the preterit present verbs have the same vowel in the plural and 3 sing. The Northern form *sall* is found with the Midland *schall*. Preterit plural : *spake* 47, 249; *gane* 71, 76, 198, 610; *gaffe* 163; *bygane* 297; *band* 589; *byganne* 733; *gafe* 799, etc.; beside *spekene* 24; *begunnene* 85; *foundene* 199; *lettene* 279; *gune* 609, 626; *boundene* 809, etc. Pret. pres. : *wate* 32, 358; *schall* 65, 181, 185, 236, 380; *sall* 68, 184, 187, 195, 235, 363, 371, 377; *schalle* 135; *may* 137, 196, 264; *maye* 222; *schallene* 379, etc.

13. The inf. and preterit plural occur both with and without final *-n*. Inf. *duelle* 8; *calle* 22; *byfall* 32; *habyde* 51; *aryse* 53; *drawe* 59; *fynde* 65; *strew* 84; *crye* 85; *craue* 106, etc.; beside *takene* 68; *sellene* 160; *fillene* 262; *recordene* 288; *hauene* 340; *folouen* 380; *brekyne* 389; *rysene* 390, etc. Preterit plural : *gane* 76; *gaffe* 163; *blewe* 516; *spake* 519; *felle* 534; *rase* 535; *stude* 535; *come* 548; *swore* 550; *sawe* 555; *band* 589, etc.; beside *spekene* 24; *bygunnene* 85; *foundene* 199; *sworene* 254; *tukene* 257; *lettene* 279; *wexene* 296; *sleepyne* 484; *boundene* 809, etc.

14. The pret. pple. of strong verbs usually ends in *-ene* : *commene* 52, 374; *boundene* 67; *gyuene* 130; *zoldene* 142; *wretyne* 143, 290; *comene* 191, 245; *vnborne* 252; *vntwaschene* 348, etc.; beside *take* 247, 325; *forsake* 248, 326; *gyue* 365 (rhyming with pres. plural *lyue*); *be* 755 (rhyming with inf. *see*).

15. The prefix *y-* for old *ge-* occurs once : *ydo* 452.

16. The pres. endings are : 3 pers. sing. *-es*; plural *-e*, *-ene*. 3 sing. : *thynkes* 127, 304; *haues* 141, 248; *says* 243; *hafes* 246; *byhoues* 307, 318, 319, 452; *fyndis* 384, etc. Plural : *accorde* 10; *rede* 103; *hafe* 140, 290, 419; *haue* 304; *see* 308; *bid* 345; *calle* 357; *lyue* 366, etc.; beside *latene* 25; *sene* 231; *suffrene* 369; *spredene* 383; *fallene* 474; *comene* 764; *leuene* 804, etc.

17. The pres. pple. usually ends in *-ande* : *standande* 66; *trauellande* 174; *fleande* 460; *sleepande* 467; *bledande* 585; *leueande* 659; *commande* 959, etc.; beside *comynge* 480; *faldynge* 623 (rhyming with pret. pple. *haldyne*) and *lykange* 960 (rhyming with *commande*).

In vocabulary also this MS. shows Northern words : *alswa* 9, 204; *till* (prep.) 154; *als* 284.

### § 9. I.

This MS., which seems to have been written and owned in Norfolk,<sup>1</sup> presents four characteristics noted by Dr. Furnivall<sup>2</sup> as prominent in Norfolk and Suffolk.  
 (1) Forms with initial *x*- in place of *schal* and *schul* : *xal* 33, 148, 149, 157, 158, 232, 239, 242, 305, 310, 356, 367, 376; *xul* 65, 185, 195, 236; *xalt* 338; *xulde* 1034.  
 (2) O.E. *hw-* often becomes *qu(h)-* : *qwyll* 8; *quwhat* 32, 157, 1054, 1092, 1112, 1150, 1172; *qwhan* 203, 235, 470; *qwylyls* 430. (3) Guttural *gh* is occasionally dropped : *dyten* 195; *lyte* 517; *myth* 471; *ryth* 422, 655, 1146; *thouth* 670.  
 (4) There are a few cases of *w* in place of *u(v)* : *agrewyde* 465; *thewys* 592; *woyce* 610; *woyse* 1253.

Apart from these particular marks of Norfolk and Suffolk, the general character of the language is Midland.

1. O.E. *ā* > *o* : *gone* 25; *euyrychon* 26; *holy geste* 38; *sloo* 50; *clothys* 82; *sore* 113; *throwe* 133, 643; *owne* 146; *knowe* 644, etc.; beside *thrawe* 60 (rhyming with *drawe*); *felawes* 169 (rhyming with *plawes*).

3. O.E. *ā* before *r* in verbs and adverbs > *e* : *were* 52, 113, 197; *þere* 60, 65; *þereon* 75; *where* 177, etc.; beside *pore* 562 (rhyming with *sore*), 1041, and 1087 (rhyming with *more*).

4. O.E. *a*, *ea* before *ld* gives *o* : *olde* 11; *solde* 129, 246, 833; *colde* 682; *soldest* 843, etc.

6. O.E. *c(k)* usually becomes *ch* : *alyche* 101; *eche* 219; *whyche* 299; *myche* 933; *lothlech* 1099; *chyrche* 1353; *secche* 1344a, *wyrche* 1354, etc.; beside *mekyl* 96; *seke* 98 (rhyming with *meke*).

7. O.E. *hw* > *wh-* or *qwh-* : *whom* 58, 537; *whan* 95, 167, 265; *where* 177, 240; for *qwh-*, see above.

10. The pronouns are *sche* 104, 105, 106, 107, 108; *they* or *þei* 16, 17, 19, 26, 37, 40; *here* or *her* 6, 18, 21, 23, 24, 82, 136; *hem* 17, 22, 26, 38, 41, 81.

11. The preterit plural often retains its vowel distinct from the vowel of the singular, and pret. pres. verbs generally have a separate form for the plural : Preterit plural: *gune* 71, 198; *fowndyne* 199; *resyn* 535; *gun* 869, 965, etc.; beside *spake* 24; *spokyn* 47; *gan* 82; *began* 87; *ȝouen* 163. Pret. pres. : *schul* 28, 135, 138, 139, 143, 181; *xul* 65, 185, 195, 236; beside *wote* 32, 358; *maye* 196, 222; *schal* 237; *may* 264.

13. The inf. and the preterit-plural of strong verbs are found both with

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *The Macro Plays* (E. E. T. S., XCI, pp. xxxvii, xlvi); see also *The Digby Plays* (E. E. T. S., LXX, p. 53, note); *Life of St. Katharine* (E. E. T. S. 100), pp. xxv–xxxii, xxxiii–xxxiv; and Capgrave's *Lives of St. Augustine* (E. E. T. S. 140), pp. xv ff.

final *-n* and without it. Inf.: *spekyn* 18; *leuyn* 27; *deyne* 33; *dwellyn* 60; *sellyn* 149; *fellyn* 150; *holdyn* 177; *byddyn* 178; *folowyn* 184, etc.; beside *telle* 1, 7; *spelle* 2; *tyne* 6; *dwelle* 8; *blynne* 28; *befalle* 32; *abyde* 51; *drawe* 59; *wende* 64; *fynde* 65, etc. Preterit plural: *spredyn* 13; *qwokn* 254; *tokyn* 511; *resyn* 535; *comen* 548; *sworen* 550; *flowen* 557; *quoken* 556, etc.; beside *spake* 24; *gune* 71; *toke* 74; *gan* 82; *began* 87, etc.

14. The pret. pple. of strong verbs usually has final *-n*: *lorne* 34; *zolden* 142; *comyn* 191; *comene* 245; *onborne* 252; *zeuyn* 365; *comen* 374; *wrytyn* 381; *takyn* 386, etc.; beside *take* 325; *forsake* 326; *crowe* 409; *be* 755, etc.

15. The prefix *i-* occurs in *ispytte* 928.

16. The endings of the present are, 3 sing. -(*e*)*th*, -*yth*, plural, -*en*, -*e*. 3 sing.: *thynkyth* 127; *hath* 141; *seyth* 243; *byhoueth* 307; *beryth* 309, 311; *behoueth* 319; *befallyth* 339; *spekyth* 376; *gryueth* 383, etc. Plural: *seen* 231; *ben* 234, 385; *done* 304; *bydden* 345; *clebyn* 357; *leuyn* 366; *suffren* 369; *spredyn* 384; *comen* 502, etc.; beside *late* 25; *haue* 140, 290; *see* 308; *seke* 530, etc.

17. The pres. pple. ends in -*yng*: *stondynge* 66, 660; *wakynge* 441; *flying* 460; *glysteryng* 515; *bledynge* 585; *farynge* 586; *leuynge* 659, etc.

### § 10. F.

This MS. is West Midland: three of the four distinguishing marks of this dialect noted by Morsbach<sup>1</sup> occur. (1) *o* for *a* before nasals: *londe* 14; *honde* 43; *mon* 56; *monkynde* 68; *spronge* 119; *long* 139; *longur* 153; *fonde* 155, etc. (2) *u* for *e* in unaccented end syllables: *gadurt* 47; *lituH* 48; *mycuH* 96, 283; *etuth* 261; *forgetuth* 262; *odur* 294; *langus* 339; *ensawmpull* 362; *lengur* 424; *mycull* 456, 508, 556; *wakuth* 473; *soldust* 843; *toldust* 844; *wyckud* 976a, etc. (3) The West Midland and Northern ending -*ande* for the pres. pple. appears occasionally along with the later ending -*yng(e)* (see above under 17 for citations). The constant use of *c* (*k*) for O.E. hard *c* suggests that the MS. belongs in the Northern part of the West Midlands.

1. O.E. *ā* > *o*: *soules* 4; *also* 9; *nokyns* 54; *no* 56; *moo* 61; *loth* 68; *owne* 82; *sore* 113; *felowys* 169; *know* 264, 521; *crowynge* 409; *owest* 840; *ow* 873, etc.; beside *thrawe* 60 (rhyming with *draw*.)

2. O.E. *ā* gives *e* in *seten* 207.

3. O.E. *ā* before *r* in adverbs and verbs gives *e* with occasional *o*: *ther* 8, 96, 102, 163, 194b; *wer* 52; *wher* 177; *were* 197, 252, etc.; beside *wore* 68, 180a; *whore* 240 (rhyming with *more*); *pore* 728 (rhyming with *sore*).

4. O.E. *a*, *ea* before *ld* gives *o*: *olde* 11; *solde* 129, 246; *holde* 238; *bolde* 245, 681; *colde* 682; *soldust* 843; *toldust* 844; *holdis* 948, etc.

<sup>1</sup> *Mittelenglische Grammatik* (Halle, 1896), p. 15.

6. O.E. *c* (*k*) is written *k* (*c*) : *mycull* 96, 961; *micull* 124; *seke* 301; *euerylkon* 350; *ilke on* 363, 364, 484; *rek* 1146; *kyrke* 1353; *wyrke* 1354, etc.; but *sich* 763, *sech* 150.

10. The pronouns are for the most part Midland : *sche* 104, 106, 107, 108, 109; *she* 144; *pei* 10, 17, 58, 68d, 798; *they* 55; *thei* 49; *here* 60b, 200b; *hem* 61, 101, 109, 120b, 137; *pes* 170; *pese* 820; *swilke* 172b; beside the Northern *thay* 73, and the more Southern *sych* 1118.

10. The preterit plural of strong verbs has the vowel of the singular, and preterit present verbs have, for the most part, one form in 3 sing. and plural. Preterit plural : *can* 59, 71, 198, 208, 798; *began* 214a, 869; *hange* 862; *fonde* 882 etc., beside *founde* 73. Pret. pres.: *shall* 62, 187; *shalle* 135; *shal* 195, 236, etc., beside *mow* 2, 137; *mowen* 64.

13. Both the inf. and the preterit plural of strong verbs usually occur without -*n* ending. Inf.: *here* 1; *lere* 2; *speke* 18, 48; *ryme* 30; *dye* 38d; *lif* 60; *haue* 60b; *stande* 66; *lose* 68, etc., beside *gon* 270a; *gravon* 883. Preterit plural : *founde* 73; *saw* 96b; *wonde* 799; *hange* 862; *fonde* 882, etc., beside *seten* 207.

14. The pret. pple. of strong verbs is usually without -*n* ending : *bownde* 67; *come* 180a; *take* 247; *forsake* 248; *bewunne* 894 etc., beside *forlorne* 34 (rhyming with *beforne*); *etan* 238a; *risen* 242.

16. The endings of the present tense are : 3 sing. -(i)s, -ith, plural -e. 3 sing.: *hase* 248; *has* 761, 865; *spekis* 774; *holdis* 948, etc., beside *seithe* 35; *seith* 127, 203, 911, 914; *fallith* 950; note also *me thynke* 127; *methynk* 139b. Plural : *spryngē* 13; *thynke* 32; *call* 44; *sey* 68d; *haue* 140, 243; *lye* 154; *loue* 159; *take* 235; *leue* 790, etc., beside *seyñ* 68a.

17. The pres. pple. has two endings: -*and(e)* and *yng(e)* : *truelande* 174; *ffliand* 460; *wepande* 479; *comande* 480; *standande* 660; *cumande* 959; *lawzande* 960, etc., beside *acordyng* 10; *bledyngē* 585; *farynge* 586.

### § 11. A.

The dialect of **A** is Midland with no peculiarities strong enough to determine its definite locality. From the general though not exclusive use of *a* before *w*, and the frequent appearance of *k* instead of *ch*, it would seem that the MS. belongs in the northern part of the Midlands.

1. O.E. ā > o except before *w*, where it is usually *a* : *one* 10; *gone* 25; *holy* 38; *no* 53; *non* 54; *whome* 58; *two* 61; *clotys* 82; *clothys* 82a, etc., beside *saules* 4, 6; *thraw* 60; *awne* 146, 228, 406; *knaw* 264, 521; *craw* 733; *awys* 840, etc., but *feloyys* 169 (rhyming with *pleys*), *felow* 719.

2. O.E. ā before *r* gives *e* : *there* 8, 60, 65, 166, 195, 555 (rhyming with *care*); 702 (rhyming with *werre*), 728 (rhyming with *sore*), 750 (rhyming with *lore*); *were* 52; *where* 240 (rhyming with *more*), etc.

4. O.E. *a, ea* before *ld* becomes *o* : *olde* 11; *hold* 238; *bold* 245, 681; *sold* 246; 833, 843, 895; *fold* 623, 834, etc.

6. O.E. *c (k)* is found as *k* and also as *ch* : *ilke* 120; *mykell* 124; *seke* 146, 539; *mekyll* 162, 276, 280, 908, etc., beside *iche* 363, 364, 436, 556; *ichone* 484, 496; *euerychon* 557; *mych* 933; *chyrche* 1353; *wyrche* 1354, etc.

10. The pronouns are *sche*, 105, 106, 107, 108, 114; *they* 17, 19, 26, 73, 74; *þem* 351, 355, 681, 828; *hem* 17, 22, 41; *sech* 150; *whych* 299; *such* 388; *sych* 763.

11. The preterit plural of strong verbs has generally the vowel of the singular; the 3 sing., and the plural of pret.-pres. verbs are alike. Pret.-plural : *gane* 71, 198, 869; *brake* 86; *begane* 87, 733; *zafe* 163; *sate* 404, 712; *began* 609, etc., beside *found* 199; *sette* 207. Pret.-pres.: *wate* 32; *may* 64, 222, 264; *schall* 65, 135, 139; 181, 185; *wote* 358, etc.

13. The inf. and the preterit plural of strong verbs are usually without final *-n*. Inf.: *tell* 1, 7; *spell* 2; *tyne* 5; *duell* 8; *fullfyll* 11; *ryme* 30; *blame* 48; *sofyre* 49; *ryse* 53; *draw* 59, etc., beside *dyene* 33; *gon* 25 (rhyming with *everychon*), *seyn* 43 (rhyming with *ageyne*); *gone* 464 (rhyming with *anone*); *done* 856. Preterit plural : *come* 79, 175, 548; *blew* 516; *fell* 534; *ros* 535; *suore* 550; *bonde* 589; *drew* 628, etc., beside *spokyne* 47; *thretyne* 50.

14. The pret. pple. of strong verbs usually ends in *-n*, though there are many cases where final *-n* is lacking : *forelorne* 34; *bondyne* 67; *wrytene* 143; *done* 167; *takyn* 247; *foresakyne* 248; *vnborne* 252; *etyne* 330; *wryten* 582; *ofschorne* 584, 716, etc., beside *ouyrglyde* 52; *gyue* 130; *take* 235; *come* 245; *vnwessch* 346; *wessch* 353; *do* 356, 387; *fond* 637; *gete* 893.

16. The endings of the present tense are : 3 sing. *-ys*, *-(y)th*, plural *-e*. 3 sing.: *seys* 35, 243, 270, 457, 913; *etys* 227, 228; *drjnkys* 229; *foregetys* 262; *behouys* 307, 319, 581; *berys* 309, 311; *fallys* 339, 842; *forthinkys* 568; *longys* 946, etc., beside *hath* 141, 246, 248, 499, 674, 932; *goth* 183, 383; *doth* 225; *beryth* 402, etc. Plural : *acorde* 10; *do* 140; *haue* 290, 357, 419; *pray* 345; *spred* 384; *come* 502; *seke* 530; *bynd* 591, beside *done* 593.

17. In the pres. pple. both the Northern *-and*, and the late *yng* occur : *wepand* 479; *comand* 480; *bledand* 585; *farand* 586; *command* 959; *lykand* 960 beside *stondyne* 66; *wakynge* 441; *quakynge* 442; *sleepynge* 467, 484.

The form *wynde* rhyming with *hende* in 71 and 76 occurs in the Southern *Ayenbite of Inwit* 180 as *winde*. Note should also be made of two imperative plurals *sytyh* 423 and *weytek* 941, for which I have found no parallels.

## § 12. R.

This MS. is in South Midland dialect. The few occurrences of *xal* suggest that it was copied from an East Midland MS.

1. O.E. *ā* > *o* : *holy* 38; *no* 40; *woo* 49; *clothis* 82; *anone* 89; *sore* 113; *owne* 146; *crowe* 733, etc., beside *ffelawis* 2023 (rhyming with *dawis*).

3. O.E. *æ* before *r* usually becomes *e* : *were* 52, 113, 252; *þer* 60, 86; *ther* 74, 120a; *wher* 177, 397, etc., beside *ore* 386; *wore* 750 (rhyming with *lore*); *ware* 1036.

4. O.E. *a*, *ea* before *ld* > *o* : *olde* 11, *bolde* 126, 681; *solde* 129, 246; *tolde* 199; *iffolde* 623; *holde* 624; *colde* 682, etc.

6. O.E. *c* (*k*) is usually softened to *ch* : *eche* 14; *mich* 124; *euerychone* 244; *sechyng* 1291; *iliche* 1330; *chirche* 1342b; *wirch* 1353, etc., beside *beseke* 345; *werke* 1339 (rhyming with *clerke*).

9. The Southern plural *eyene* occurs 800.

10. The pronouns are for the most part Midland : *she* 104, 105, 107, 108; *they* 17, 19, 22, 41; *þei* 47, 79, 86; *þey* 51, 55; *theyre* 10a; *theyr* 150; *her* 88d; 1764b; *theme* 51, 61, 62, 81; *hem* 199, 414, 1143; *suche* 340, 388. The 3 pers. nom. plural *the* occurs 621, 637, 640, 1396, 1553.

11. Pret. pres. verbs have usually a different vowel in the plural to that of the singular : *shull* 185, 371, 440, 946, 1018; *mow* 196, 222, 1535, 1662, 1764b, beside *may* 263, 1550; *wote* 32. The Norfolk and Suffolk form *xal* occurs frequently : 1 sing 149, 3 sing. 142, 143, 157, 232, etc., plural 156a, 236, 320b, 642, 1572; *xul* 135.

13. The inf. and the preterit plural of strong verbs are usually without final *-n*. Inf. : *fullfill* 11; *kall* 22; *kepe* 22b; *bileve* 28; *befall* 32; *dye* 33; *dwell* 60; *ffynde* 65; *lose* 68; *come* 88a, etc., beside *gone* 25 (rhyming with *one*), 464, 956; *seyne* 431 (rhyming with *ageyne*); *sene* 756 (rhyming with *bene*); *bene* 842. Pret. plural : *spoke* 24; *satte* 207; *ffell* 534; *rose* 535; *stode* 535; *came* 540; *bare* 1354; *lete* 1360; *slonge* 1372 etc., beside *boundyne* 809.

14. The final *-n* of the pret. pple. of strong verbs is usually preserved : *lorne* 34; *gevene* 130; *wrytyne* 143, 381; *spokyne* 373; *takynne* 386, 1307; *forlorne* 863; *borne* 864; *ffoundyne* 882; *corbyn* 1308, etc., beside *forsake* 248, 831; *take* 325, 832; *come* 374, 1409.

15. In the following cases *i-* for older *ge-* is retained : *ireised* 95; *itravayled* 232; *iseyde* 329; *itake* 399; *iffolde* 623; *idone* 975, 1599; *icomme* 978; *igone* 1841; *istrrawid* 2058b.

16. The endings of the present tense are 3 sing. *-ith*, *-is*, plural *-e*, *-ith*. 3 sing. *sittith* 88b; *makith* 204; *hath* 246, 261, 415; *behoueth* 307; *berith* 311; *sleipith* 498; *avengith* 569; *standith* 641; *seith* 646; *avaylith* 789, etc., beside *dos* 225; *lenis* 273; *fallis* 339; *dredis* 668; *eylis* 777; *mysemyst* 1229; *betokenys* 1667. Plural *haue* 304; *knowe* 356; *clepe* 357, 900; *suffer* 369; *bynde* 591; *despice* 790; beside *spekith* 376; *seyth* 1032b; *levith* 1165, and *redis* 103.

17. The pres. pple. ends in *-ynge* : *standynge* 66; *ffleynge* 460; *wepyngne* 479;

*commynge* 480, 959; *slepynge* 1097; *rynnynge* 1200, etc., beside *travaylande* 174 (rhyming with *hande*).

### § 13. H<sub>2</sub>.

The fragment **H<sub>2</sub>** is the work of a Southern scribe (cf. *woso* 309; *clop* 368; *itake* 409; *kerdel* 415) transcribing a Northern MS. (*sal* 376, 389).

1. O.E. ā > o : *whoso* 311; *aros* 330, 331; *clop* 333, 351; *non* 342; *mo* 343; *go* 344; *anon* 349; *loþ* 352; also 359; *sore* 377, etc.

3. O.E. ē before r in verbs and adverbs gives e : *þer* 346; *were* 364; *weren* 404; *ther* 429.

5. O.E. y gives e in *kerdel* 415.

6. O.E. c (k); ch : *riche* 342a; *siche* 342b; *euerichon* 350; *ech* 363, 436; *ich* 385, 386, beside *seke* 301 (rhyming with *meke*).

7. O.E. hw usually gives wh : *whoso* 311; *what* 358; *while* 366, 408, 430, 431; *whan* 353, 378, but the Southern *woso* occurs in 309.

9. The Southern plural ending for the substantive is found in *honden* 345.

10. The pronouns are *hem* 353, 354, 437, 439; *swich* 340.

11. Pret. pres. verbs have generally a separate form for the plural : *nete* 356, 358; *netep* 358; *shulle* 367, 371, 377, 379, 391; *shulleþ* 429, beside *shal* 338. In the sing. of the verb *shal*, we find the Northern form *sal* 376, 389, 395, 396, 402.

12. The -i- suffix is found in *clop* 368; cf. also *serui* 315, and *graunti* 407 (1 pers. sing.)

13. The inf. is generally without -n ending : *seke* 301; *falle* 310; *haue* 312; *bere* 314; *serui* 315; *calle* 316; *wasshe* 336; *siche* 342b; etc., beside *deren* 413 and *beren* 414.

14. The pret. pple. of strong verbs is without final -n : *vnwassche* 346, 348; *wassch* 353; *ido* 356; *iwasshe* 361; *take* 386; *do* 394; *itake* 409; *forsake* 410.

15. The prefix i- or y- for older ge- is found in *ido* 356; *ykneled* 360; *iwasshe* 361; *iwrite* 381; *itake* 409, and in *yse* 308 (2 pers. plural pres.).

16. The present has Southern endings : 3 sing. *penkeþ* 304; *beret* 309, 311; *falleþ* 339, 342; *spekeþ* 375, 386; *gop* 382; *haþ* 409; plural *habbet* 304; *biddeþ* 345; *clepet* 359; *suffriþ* 369; *calleþ* 426, beside *lyue* 366; *haue* 419, 420.

In place of initial ȝ, ih- is sometimes used : *ihe* 304, 307, 308, 364; *ihet* 347; *ihore* 361; *ihoire* 413; and notice *iow* 365; *he* (pron. 2 pers. pl.) 363, 367.

### § 14. V.

In general, the fragment **V** is Midland; but the Southern forms *wyle* 430; *hii* 364; *ytake* 409; *clepeth* 357, show that this MS. was copied by a Midland scribe from a Southern text.

1. O.E. *ā* > *o* : also 359; *go* 383, 400; *sore* 377; *gone* 397; *foone* 398; *no* 402; *none* 415; *two* 419; *anone* 447, 463.
3. O.E. *āe* before *r* in adverbs gives *e* : *there* 431, 459, but *or* 386, 470.
6. O.E. *c* (*k*) becomes *ch* : *soche* 388; *euerych* 436; *erlych* 454; *mechill* 456.
7. *hw* gives *wh* in *what* 358; *whyle* 366; *when* 382, 432; *where* 397, but *w* in *wyle* 430.
10. Pronouns : *they* 466; *ther* 425; *hem* 439, and the Southern *hi* 364.
11. The preterit plural of a strong verb has the vowel of the singular and pret. pres. verbs have usually the same form for the plural and the 3 sing. Preterit plural : *sate* 404. Pret. pres. : *wote* 358; *schall* 379, 391, 429, 440, but *schull* 414.
13. The inf. and the preterit plural of strong verbs have no final *-n*. Inf. : *befall* 358; *fullfyll* 374; *take* 376; *fle* 379; *forsake* 380; *dey* 389; *breke* 389; beside *waschen* 361. Preterit plural : *sate* 404; *toke* 425.
14. The pret. pple. of strong verbs is found both with and without final *-n* : *yeve* 365; *come* 374; *nome* 386; *ytake* 409; *take* 466; beside *wrytone* 381; *done* 387; *ben* 394; *don* 432.
15. The prefix *y* for older *ge-* occurs in *ytake* 409.
16. The forms of the present tense are 3 sing. *speketh* 376; *goth* 382; *behouyth* 452; plural *clepyth* 357; *lyve* 366; *spredene* 384; *clepene* 426. Notice the form *gone* 397 (2 sing. rhyming with *foone*).
17. The pres. pple. ends in *-yng* : *wakyng* 441; *quakyng* 442.

### § 15. The Expanded Version (P T H).

The dialect of the expanded version is more purely Northern than that of the original version,<sup>1</sup> since O.E. *ā* is regularly represented by *a*. The three MSS. in which it is preserved present a uniform dialect, the differences being orthographic<sup>2</sup> rather than phonological. The forms in the following list either occur in rhyme or are identical in the three MSS.

1. O.E. *ā* is represented by *a* : *drafē* 3/53\*; *clathes* 75; *mare* 113*e*; *onane* 128*a*; *knaw* 133, 51/11\*, 705, *allane* 142, 51/3\*, 857; *sare* 160*a*; *ilkane* 203; *krawin* 409; *nane* 542*a*, etc. The reviser has, however, adopted an *o*- rhyme from the shorter version in *onone* 179, 1739; *so* 359, 773, 872, 945, 1159, 1271, 1481; *fro* 1607; and introduced *o*- rhymes in *onone* 198; *so* 739, 921; and *go* 1856.
3. O.E. *āe* before *r* > *a* : *war* 52, 57, 90*b*; *whare* 60, 240; *þare*, 121, 234, 432*a*, 156/440\*, 854*d*; *ayware* 936*c*; beside *þore* 613 (rhyming with *before*).

<sup>1</sup> See above, § 3.

<sup>2</sup> The variations of the three MSS. are discussed in Chapter IV, § 6.

4. O.E. *a*, *ea* before *ld* > *a* : *baldly* 66; *salde* 21/42\*, 246; *hald* 178, 1684b; *balde* 245; *bihald* 1796d, etc.

6. O.E. *c* (*k*) > *k* : *seke* 98; *ilka* 120; *ilkane* 203; *mekill* 254; *kirk* 161/627\*; *wirk* 161/628\*, etc.

9. The substantive plural is Northern, see especially *fase* (rhyming with *gase*) 398; for *hand* there are two plurals, *hend* (rhyming with *spend*) 20/20\* and *handes* 548, and (rhyming with *cumandes*) 217.

10. The pronouns have Northern forms : *scho* 105, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111; *þai* 62, 69, 70b, 72, 74a, 80; *þaire* 75, 82, 90b, 101, 132a, 156a; *þam* 66, 70a, 109, 121, 126; *swilk* 201, 259, 410j; *slike* 936a; *pir* 145, 576, etc.

11. The preterit plural of strong verbs has the vowel of the singular and the pret. pres. verbs have a plural like the 3 sing. Preterit plural : *fand* 72, 199; *sat* 101; *spac* 51/10\*; *bare* 517, 518, etc. Pret. pres.: *sall* 65, 66, 70b, 135; *may* 137, 196, 222, 263; *wate* 357, etc., beside *wit* 389.

12. The inf. and the preterit plural of strong verbs lack final *-n*. Inf.: *habide* 51; *rise* 53; *seme* 55; *deme* 56; *finde* 65; *vnbinder* 66; *suffer* 70b; *seke* 98, etc. Preterit plural : *fand* 72, 199, 201; *come* 99; *sat* 101; *spac* 51/10\*; *blew* 516; *bare* 517, 518, etc. In certain couplets adapted from the short version, infinitives in *-n* occur : *gane* 26, 956; *sayne* 431.

14. The pret. pple. of strong verbs ends in *-n* : *done* 129, 559, 824; *gifen* 130, 224a; *lorn* 132d; *forsaken* 247; *vnborn* 252; *zolden* 726a, 862a, etc. Where the reviser follows the wording of the original version, he uses the form *taken* 248, 325; where he introduces fresh couplets, he writes *tane* 128b, 143, 300b, 386, 51/4\*, 542b, etc.

16. The present endings are 3 sing. *-(e)s*, plural *-(e)s*, *-e*. 3 sing.: *has* 70a, 1098e; *neghes* 191; *cumandes* 218; *ettes* 261; *forgetes* 262; *telles* 148/37\*, etc. The plural ends in *-e* or is without ending when a personal pronoun immediately precedes or follows : *knaw* 356; *call* 358; *say* 359; *seke* 528b, 530, 537, 539, 542d; *haue* 537; when the pronoun does not accompany the verb, the ending is *-(e)s*: *has* 375, 1928b; *sais* 382, 563; *striues* 242/1\*; *redes* 249/20\*; beside *write* 381.

17. The pres. pple. ends in *-and* : *failand* 3/40\*; *lastand* 372; *brinand* 518; *lifand* 659, 1924; *cumand* 1022; *ligand* 146/14\*; *alweldand* 152/309\*, etc.

18. The vocabulary contains words peculiar to the North : *till* (prep.) 2/10\*, 410h, 442b, 51/7\*, 528, 536, etc.; *omell* 17, 789; *pusgat* 128, 258; *bus* 243.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE RELATION OF THE MSS.

§ 1. *The Groups.*

THE textual conditions in the extant MSS. of the *Northern Passion* make the determination of their relations difficult. Of the eleven MSS. of the original version eight are about a hundred years later than the composition of the poem, nine of them have suffered dialectal corruption at the hands of Midland or Southern scribes; finally, in addition to the more or less unintentional alterations, a further confusion has been introduced in at least three MSS. through contamination. Under these circumstances a genealogical tree of MSS. is obviously mere hypothesis. It seems wise, therefore, not to try to demonstrate the precise relation of each MS. to the rest, but rather to point out the groups into which the MSS. fall. These are three in number, Group **g** consisting of **G<sub>5</sub>**, **G<sub>1</sub>**, **C** and **Ad**, Group **i** consisting of **I** and **A**, and Group **d** consisting of **D F R**, the two fragments and probably the MS. at the basis of the expanded version.

In the following sections, only readings peculiar to the MSS. under discussion are cited, and in all cases the proof could be made fuller by including readings shared by one or more other MSS.

§ 2. *Group g : G<sub>1</sub>, G<sub>5</sub>, C, Ad.*

**G<sub>1</sub>, G<sub>5</sub>, C, Ad** agree against the other MSS. in the following readings :

*some* 795 (**G<sub>1</sub> Ad** come, **I F A** foomen, **D** lacking), *on his scornynge* 1265,  
*to omitted* 1501, *with hym speke and see* 1978.

**G<sub>1</sub>** and **G<sub>5</sub>** are especially close, as shown by the following readings :

*sone onone* 133, *thirty* 573, *loude* 798, *with walkyng* 960, *to syr pilate* 1287,  
*vnkynd* 1554, *reuth* 1630, *neuenyd* 1764, *youre* 1800, *sore adred* 2017, *with*  
2075.

**C** agrees with **G<sub>1</sub> G<sub>5</sub>** in the following readings :

*propheteȝ* 375, *noght* 422, *alssو* 1439, *wald* 1452, *lord* 1486.

**Ad** agrees with **G<sub>1</sub> G<sub>5</sub>** in :

*luſe* 790, *led* 1551, vv. 1851–2 lacking.

The connection of **Ad** and **C** appears in the arrangement rather than in the text. Vv. 27–8 are omitted in both, leaving a sentence half finished. In both the story of John Puttedieu is added (after v. 1520 in **Ad**, after v. 1598 in **C**),

though only the first couplet is identical. Furthermore, disturbances in the text occur at the same points; vv. 87–8 are misplaced in both, in **C** they follow v. 80, while in **Ad** vv. 87–90 follow 84; vv. 1491–2 in **C** follow v. 1494, and in **Ad** are omitted; vv. 1593–8, omitted by **Ad**, are in **C** followed by the insertion of John Puttedieu (1598*a*–1598*j*); and vv. 1657–8, which are omitted by **C**, are the first lines of a section (vv. 1657–84) transposed by **Ad**.

No one of these four MSS. was copied from any other of the four since each lacks some lines common to the rest: **G<sub>1</sub>** lacks vv. 287–348, 1201–6, 1211–12, 1221–2, 1440, 1854; **G<sub>5</sub>** lacks 661–2, 1013–18, 1133–6, 1163–4, 1993–6; **C** lacks 125–6, 193–4, 309–10, 357–8; 741–2, 967–8, 1122–5, etc.; **Ad** lacks 343–4, 557–62, 655–6, 1547–8, etc. All four MS. therefore are descended from a lost MS. which we may call **g**. **g** was probably a Northern<sup>1</sup> MS. written as early as the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

### § 3. Group i : I A.

The close relation of **I** and **A** is shown by the following passages where they agree with each other and differ from the other MSS.:

*dedyn 73, dyten 195, soule 277, cryen 905, gylte 1132, stronge þing 1265, other kynge þan cesar 1268, wroth 1441, see 1468, defaute 1493, bolde 1554, at pe laste 1625, How they hadde lorne her laboures swynk (**A** That pei had so lorne per swynk; **D** etc. anon pei were in a storbling) 1612; vv. 1640a–1640b added; þe blysse of heuene 1710 (**A** a place in heuen, **Ad D F g** grace), mercy 1908, so 1947, save 1740, comaundement 1992.*

These likenesses between **I** and **A** consist, for the most part, in the substitution of a common or modern word for an unfamiliar one (*cryen* for *wryen* 905, *dyten* for *graith* 195, etc.), but vv. 1268, 1612, 1468, 1625 and 1710 are sufficient to show the connection of **I** and **A**, especially when we consider the many cases where the two have substituted the *same* familiar word for an unfamiliar one.

**I** was not copied from **A**, for **A** lacks the following couplets common to **I** and the other MSS.: 659–60, 1463–4, 1481–2, 1557–8, 1567–8, 1711–12, 1741–2, 1763–4, 1815–16, 1831–2, 1885–6, 1893–4, 1983–4. Nor was **A** copied from **I**, since **I** lacks the following couplets: 67–8, 1417–18, 1873–4. Therefore, **I** and **A** proceed from a third MS. which we may call **i**.<sup>3</sup>

### § 4. Group d : D F R (H<sub>2</sub> V).

**D**, **F** and **R** go back to a common original which may be called **d**. Owing to the fact that over half of **D** is lacking, that **F** is carelessly written and **R**

<sup>1</sup> See above, Chapter III. § 4.

<sup>2</sup> For a further discussion of **Ad**, see § 5.

<sup>3</sup> For **I** see further below, § 5.

much modernized, the proofs of relationship are not full. They are, however, sufficient to show that the three MSS. belong in one group.

**D**, **F** and **R** agree against the other MSS. in the following readings :

*thre* 1446, *seme*<sup>1</sup> 1593, *puttin* 1839.

**F** and **R** offer the following parallels :

*bliss . . . cum . . . to*, 342, vv. 347–8 lacking, *lere* 642, *Ther was* 1475, *sore hande* 1490, *meke* 1530; lines not in other MSS. are : 38a–38b, 60a–60b, 88a–88b, **F** 120a–120b = **R**, 120c–120d, 132a–132b, 194a–194b, **F** 210a–210b = **R** 212a–212b.

**D** and **R** agree in the following passages :

*al þynge* 582, vv. 609–10 omitted, *seynt Iohn* 618, vv. 653–4 inserted, *zede* 1553, vv. 1574a–1574b inserted; *a* 1652, *sone anon* 1718, *ner* 1842, *faste in þe* 2004, *out of pis lond* 2038.

**D** and **F** present the following parallels :

*hillid* 1200, *iewis felle* 1261, *wunder* 1265, *Than com forth* 1483, vv. 1497–98 omitted, *al* omitted 1564, *lottis* 1591, *mysliking* 1763, vv. 2019–20 inserted.

No one of the three MSS. is a copy of another, for each lacks some lines present in the rest : **D** lacks 1413–38, 1461–2, 1661–6, 1673–6; **F** lacks 1495–6, 1621–2, 1827–8; **R** lacks 673–4, 1375–6, 1383–4, 1401–2, 1435–6, 1629–30, 1803–4, 1810, 1812, 1939–42, 2047–8, 2065–6. The three MSS. are descended from a lost MS. which I have called **d**.

The Fragments **H**<sub>2</sub> and **V** are too short to enable us to establish a definite position for them in relation to the other MSS., though their general affiliation is clear. They agree with each other and differ from the other MSS. in the following readings :

*neeure* 357, *pat I am* 378, *of 394*, *brethe* 409.

**V**, the later MS., cannot be copied from **H**<sub>2</sub>, for **H**<sub>2</sub> lacks the following couplets present in **C** and the other MSS. : 373–4, 405–6, and 411–12. **H**<sub>2</sub> and **V** are then descended from a common original **c**. And **c** probably belongs with group

<sup>1</sup> In **C** *sune*, the reading of the MS., is deleted and *semes* interlined. This does not indicate that **C** belongs to the **d** group, as is shown by a study of the emendations of **C**. The corrections are in a different ink, and in many cases (deletion of *alle* 97, change of *have* to *crave* 106, *sawe* to *lawe* 134, *bore* to *sore* 799, insertion of *in* 147, *y have don* 432, *we* 804, *oper* 1695, etc.), the scribe appears to have followed no MS. authority, but to have inserted his own conjecture (see especially change of *he goþ to in geþ* to *he to in geþ*, where *geþ* is for *grýþ* 183, and change of *iij men* to *be postelus* 434). In v. 1593, therefore, *semes* (not *seme* as in **D F R**) is probably the scribe's own emendation for *sune*.

**d**, for in vv. 409–10 it has the rhyme words *take : forsake* with **F**<sup>1</sup> rather than *crawe : thrawe (sow : now)* with **i** and **g**.

Thus far, three groups of MSS. have been established : **G<sub>1</sub>**, **G<sub>5</sub>**, **Ad** descending from **g**, **I A** proceeding from **i**, and **R F D** and the fragments going back to **d**. **g**, **i** and **d**, were probably independent copies of the original. Of the three, **d** most closely represents the original form of the poem, not only in the reading of vv. 1593 and 1424, but also in preserving a number of couplets whose correspondence with the French proves them to have been part of the original poem. Such are vv. 120a–120b (French 81–84), 132a–132b (Fr. 97–8), 194a–194b (Fr. 154), 210a–210b (Fr. 170) all in **F** and **R**; vv. 563–4<sup>2</sup> (Fr. 487) and 189–92<sup>2</sup> (Fr. 1541–2) in **R**: and vv. 633–4<sup>2</sup> (Fr. 565–6), 636a–66d<sup>2</sup> (Fr. 651–2), 672b–672c (Fr. 649), 739–40 (Fr. 700), 757–8<sup>2</sup>, (Fr. 604–5), 765–8<sup>3</sup> (Fr. 609–12), 1213–14<sup>2</sup> (Fr. 1093)<sup>4</sup> in **D**.

The lost MS. **g** was also a good MS., for, although it has not preserved the above passages of the original, the correct reading of most lines is found in one or another of the MSS. copied from it.

### § 5. Contamination (**Ad**, **I**, **A**).

In addition to the main lines of relationship discussed above, special parallels exist between members of different groups which can be explained only by contamination; in other words, it would appear that in some instances a scribe copied from two MSS. rather than from one. Sometimes, as in **I** and **A**, he appears to have followed one MS. with only occasional reference to the second; but again, as in **Ad**, the supplementary MS. furnished the text for fifty or more consecutive lines. The relationships of a MS. subject to contamination are difficult to establish; but where it clearly appears that the scribe used a MS. to supplement his copy in one passage, it is fair to suppose that he used it elsewhere; in other words, if contamination is found to occur in one passage of a MS., it may reasonably be suspected in other difficult passages. Among the MSS. of the *Northern Passion*, contamination appears in **Ad**, **I** and, to a small extent, in **A**.

**Ad** and **D** certainly drew from the same source between vv. 566–628, for

(a) they offer the following peculiar readings :

*vnto Petir he* 566, **D** *my fader*, **Ad** *hym (G<sub>5</sub> thyng, F hit, i, G<sub>1</sub>, R pou)* 568,  
*þat my fader wold me sende / if þat I wold me defende* 575–6, *fulfillid* 580,

<sup>1</sup> The page of **D** which would contain this passage is lost, but the reading of **d** (as represented by **F**) is also that of **Ad**, which, as will be shown below (§ 5), was contaminated with some MS. of the **d** group.

<sup>2</sup> These verses are also in **I**, which, as shown below in § 5, is contaminated with a member of the **d** group.

<sup>3</sup> These verses are also in **Ad**, which, as shown below in § 5, is contaminated with a member of the **d** group.

<sup>4</sup> See also below, p. 42.

*And sette it on 585, þo men were of wikkid kynde 590, after oure lord 612,  
And handis on his mantil þei leyde / he schuld ben ded so þei seyde 627. See  
also be hem wo 1441, But þe 1493, the 1797, D selue, Ad same (i, g, tothyr)  
1841, þer as 1900.*

(b) **D** and **Ad** omit the following couplets which are present in the other MSS. : 577–8, 595–6, 601–2 (also lacking in **A**), 621–2 and 1477–8.

**D** and **Ad** show this close relationship only as far as v. 628; after that point, though both offer variations from the normal text, the departures are not usually the same, and the parallels cited above from the latter part of the poem are so trivial as to leave it doubtful whether they are not due to mere coincidence.

Granting the interrelation of **D** and **Ad**—at least between vv. 566 and 628—we may proceed to inquire whether **Ad** borrowed from **D**, or from an ancestor of **D**, or whether **D**, the earlier MS., drew from a predecessor of **Ad**. The general state of the two texts strongly suggests that **Ad** was the borrower. **D** represents the more primitive form of the text; the lines are in general shorter, the readings better, and such insertions as there are consist of two or four lines, not of whole incidents. The text of **Ad**, on the other hand, has suffered many changes: the lines are often expanded beyond their normal length,<sup>1</sup> and long passages are inserted.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, in at least one of the passages common to **D** and **Ad**, the former appears to offer the better text.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, though absolute proof is not forthcoming, it seems probable that **Ad** borrowed from **D** or from similar MS.

I drew from some MS. of the **d** group in the following couplets which it alone offers in common with **D R**: 686a–686b, 751–752; the following in common with **D**: 633–4, 636a–636d, 648a–648b, 692a–692b, 704a–704b, 705–6, 718a–718b, 757–58, 765–68, 1194a–1194b, 1213, 1246a–1246b; the following in common with **R**: 563–4, 586a–586b, 981–2, 1338a–1338b, 1846a–1846b, 1891–1892 (also in **A**), 2000a–2000b; and probably also in the following couplets which occur in a portion of the poem where **D** is mutilated, but which show by their correspondence with the French that they belonged to the original poem: 821–2 (Fr. 773–6), 891–2 (Fr. 809–10), 971–2 (Fr. 859–60), 981–2 (Fr. 871–2), 1088a–1088b (Fr. 974), 1292a–1292d (Fr. 1182–4).

**A** drew from **F** or a similar MS. in the following couplets: 96a–96b, 132a–132b and 107a–107b (= **F** 110a–110b, also in **R**). Besides these insertions **F** and **A** have many readings in common, most of them probably mere coincidences, but a few (576, 624, 1236, 1844) significant of direct influence. The parallels are as follows :

<sup>1</sup> See vv. 737, 856, 954, 802, 1629, 1906, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The Cross story 146/1\*– 67/685\*, the Wandering Jew, 1520a–j, the Veronica, 180/1\*–181/54\*. <sup>3</sup> v. 614.

*sclaunder* 53, *best* 69, *a gode* 99, *forgafe* 116, *fro my fader* 576, *beholde* 624, *wrangle* 908, *prowide* 1032, **F** not *seid*, **A** *unseyd* (**I**, *g*, *noughte used*), 1144, *nyt* 1150, *ser* 1206, *more* 1210, 1221, *mervell* 1219, *fforto henge þe* 1236, *cursyd* 1502, *take* 1805, *a man of riche fee* 1844, *wonder thyng* 1928, *spellynge* 2080.

### § 6. The Expanded Version (P TH).

The three MSS. of the revised version are much closer to one another than any two MSS. of the original poem; except for the omission of one line in **H**<sup>1</sup> and one couplet in **P**<sup>2</sup>, their extent is the same, and the majority of the variations are merely orthographical. The MSS. fall into two groups, **P** on the one hand, and **T H** on the other. While **P** is in some respects a better representative of the original than **T** or **H**, it has introduced certain orthographical peculiarities not in the original and not in the other MSS. **T** and **H** are especially close, **T** being the older and better text.<sup>3</sup> Though a later portion of **H**<sup>4</sup> is a direct copy of **T**<sup>5</sup>, in the portion concerning the *Passion* both MSS. were apparently copied from a third.

**T H** agree against **P** in certain errors: both MSS. omit *pam* 146/9\* and both originally lacked *men* 955. The latter word has, however, been inserted in **H**. At 245/35\*, the original read *And wit ze wele if þat we wil*, but the MS. from which **T** and **H** were copied substituted *it* for *if*. **T** reproduces the error, and **H** emends by adding *if* after *þat*. (*and wit ze wele it þat if . . .*)

**H** was not copied from **T**, for **T** has the following errors not present in **H**: omission of *his* 214, 1210b, *said* 51/5\*, *þe* 153, 337\*, *him* 1266b, *me* 211/1637, **I** 1760c; other errors: *was* (pl.) 3/54\*, *ȝw* 70, *misdes* 106, *wankend* 287, *sul* 299, *illone* 556a, *euy* 668c, *thog* 163, 675\*, *þat* repeated 802b, *saguinis* p. 89, *iesu* 968, *þo* 994c, *fo* 1060b, *ill* 1115, *answer* 1158b, *messange* 150/180\*, *strale* 156/453\*, *þato* 164/708\*, *als* 1485 (**D** and **H** þare), *schroken* 1622b, *vaine* 1646f, *iews* repeated 1677, *sun* 1746; *schurder* 1804e, *whik* 1826j, *lolst* 1880d, *vngance* 1885, *craue* 1920h, *to* 2066a.

**T** was not copied from **H**, for **H** has many errors not in **T**; omission of *so* 28, 79, *it* 128a, *þus* 373, *þe* 617, 1896, *þan* 826a, 1218i, *he* 160/565\*, 1452, *us* 1445, **I** 1494b, *was* 1749, *sunder* 1774, Latin line on p. 211, *may* 1852h, *said* 1996, *we* 2032a; other errors: *faly* 2/24\*, *venge* 160b, *þat* inserted 21/40\*, *vnbron* 252, *ore or* 370, *folk* 383, *my* 385, *ltell* 430, *clere* 479, *he stond* 532c, *had crist* 862d, *euil* 1273, *greue* 148/43\*, *forgif* 148/100\*, *whik* 149/121\* þar 149/123\*,

<sup>1</sup> The line of Latin on p. 211, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Vv. 1715–16.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, n. F., p. lxxix.

<sup>4</sup> Ff. 165–205, containing the latter part of the *Legendary*.

<sup>5</sup> Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, n. F., p. lxxviii; and G. H. McKnight (E. E. T. S. 14, pp. lii–liii).

*lifi* 154/372\*, *neght* 156/435\*, *vnt* 160/566\*, 1863, *grafe* 161/603\*, *suffe* 165/774\*, *þe* inserted 166/786\*, *By* 1485, *bette* 1544, *þat* 1552b, *suld* 1571, *skilk* 1596, *tele* 1646d, *playne* 1656, *was* 1771, *golod* 1844, *wranwishly* 1846f, *kew* 1866, *ihesu* 1885, *reuence* 1920b, *wightes* 1950, *oue* 1976, *and* inserted 1987, *mode* 1993.

Therefore **T H** are independent copies of a third MS. which we may call **h**.

**h** was not copied from **P**, for **h** contained the whole *Northern Homily Collection*, while **P** has merely the *Northern Passion*; and **P** has the following errors not in **h**: omissions of *þe* 382, *noght* 854c, *he* 914a, *is in* 152/300\*, *hest* 160/564\*, vv. 1715–16; *son* 1808i, *of* 1888a, *awen* 243/29\*; other errors: *lawd* 2/16\*, *h* 20/28\*, *þe* 21/44\*, *drynk* 210, *euer* repeated 612b, *yhe* 712, *wha* 850, *o* 851, *þam* 1166b, *white* 1270, *sprynge* 149/121\*, *þan þam* 154/367\*, *burd* 161/617\*, *tre* 1498, *o* 1586a, *lely* 1682, *wild* 1814, *wonder* 2012d, *land* 2020a.

**P** was not copied from **h**, for **P** has the correct reading in place of the errors of **h** noted above.<sup>1</sup> Therefore **P** and **h** were copied independently from some other MS. (**o**). This was probably not the original, for both **P** and **h** omit *com* in v. 148/64\*, and both originally lacked *noght* at 709, where **H** has inserted it above the line.

The three MSS. are so close together, and their relationship so clear, that certain facts about their common original **o** can be distinguished.

1. **o** regularly used *o* for *u* in such words as *sone*, *som*, *comand*, etc.<sup>2</sup> This usage is preserved in **P**: *sone* 2/24\*, 50, 155, 162a, 260, etc., *som* 3/29\*, 175, 245, *contre* 3/51\*, *comberd* 122, *sopere* 153, *comes* 21/37\*, *comen* 21/41\*, *come* 188, *bord* 206, 266, *torned* 326b. It was also occasionally present in **h** as shown by **T**: *soth* 147/25\*, *sone* 163/691\*, 1811, *cobites* 166/791\*, *hosband* 1499, *pople* 1756; and by **T H**: *sone* 128a, 355, 560, 566, *soper* 271, *eftsones* 536.

2. *e* and not *i* was used in final unaccented syllables. This usage is regular in **P**: *þethen* 3/44\*, *deuels* 3/53\*, *sythen* 76, 109, 124, 217, 223; *keped* 80, *mykell* 129, 21/40\*, 254, 394, 508, 644, *awen* 132, 146, 671, *euell* 20/14\*, 220, *euuen* 206b, *heuen* 242b, *crawen* 409, *wapens* 420, *steuen* 663. Both **T** and **H** have a tendency to substitute *i* for this *e*: **T** *brokin* 243/24\*, *cobit* 162/636\*, *euir* 1826, *hewid* 166/788\*, *Iamis* 435, *mekill* 148/98\*, *nakid* 1603, *smetin* 776, etc.; **H**: *amendis* 846, *armis* 1605, *dedis* 795, *hillir* 860, *hillis* 1545, *hopid* 163/672\*, etc.

3. Final *-e* was usually silent in **o**. **P** reproduces the original more faithfully than **h** in this respect: *mynd* 2/4\*, *our* 2/5\*, 2/7\*, 2/21\*, 3/26\*, 3/37\*, etc.; *þarfor* 2/15\*, 3/28\*, *ynglysch* 2/16\*, *tech* 2/19\*, *þair* 23, 24, 29, 50, 75, etc.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> The rhymes show that *sone* was the form used: *sone*: *done* 355–6, 559–60, 823–4, 1112a–1112b, 1130e–1130f, etc.

**h** is, however, occasionally more correct than **P**: *wirschip* 90a, *toun* 98, *precius* 112, *pusgat* 128, *lith* 161, *blith* 162, etc.

It is clear from the above citations that **P** is generally nearer **o** than is **h**; but **P** has certain peculiarities of orthography not found in **h**, and which are probably due to the scribe of **P**. Three of these are noted by Mr. Campbell<sup>1</sup> in connection with the *Seven Sages of Rome* in this MS.

1. The use of *yh* for *ȝ*: *yhe* 32, 65, 66, 135, 137, etc., *yhow* 65, 70, 70b, 136, 139, etc., *menyhe* 97, *yhit* 113e, *yhing* 224b, *yhede* 456, etc.

2. Preference for double *l* and double *t* final: *medefull* 2/12\*, *nedefull* 2, 13\*, *writt* 2/17\*, *sall* 3/41\*, *gett* 3/41\*, *full* 3/49\*, *satt* 101, *sett* 113c, *mykell* 129, *counsail* 133, *all* 156b, *lytell* 19/25\*, *euell* 220, *witt* 389, etc. The tendency is also present in **h** (*all* 2, 1\*, 2, 13\*, 3/51\*, 16, etc., *still* 2/9\*, *till* 2, 10\*, *ill* 3/31\*, *will* 3/32\*, etc.), but is more frequent in **H** than in **T**.<sup>2</sup>

3. Avoidance of medial *p*: *other* 3/54\*, *sythen* 76, 109, 124, 217, 223, etc., *þethen* 3/44\*, *nouther* 19 5\*, 21/43\*, *alther* 274, *brether* 327, 364, *sythes* 756, *whether* 762, etc.

Other orthographical peculiarities are —

4. Substitution of *y* for *i*<sup>3</sup>: *nyght* 2, 3\*, *mynd* 2/4\*, *mysdede* 2/7\*, *styl* 2/9\*, *tyll*, *slyke* 2/10\*, *ynglysch* 2/16\*, *wytnes* 2, 17\*, *says* 2/17\*, *almyghty* 3/26\*, *fandyng* 3/33\*, *gyf* 3/35\*, etc. The introduction of *y* is more frequent in **H** than in **T**.<sup>4</sup>

5. The non-syncopation of *e*<sup>5</sup> in end syllables where the metre shows that syncopation was intended: *ieues* 15, 161, 51/9\*, 668g, 682c, etc., *ferlies* 18, 962d, *lawes* 935, *enoyned* 117, *penyes* 162d, 19/4\*, 20/16\*, 248, *folowes* 184, *ines* 204, *telles* 528a, *comes* 554, *bitrayes* 554a, etc.

### § 7. Relation of the Expanded Version to the Shorter Version.

Before determining which MS. of the shorter version served as a basis for **o**, a word may be said as to the general relationship of the two versions. A casual examination is sufficient to reveal the frequent changes made by the

<sup>1</sup> *The Seven Sages of Rome*, ed. Killis Campbell (New York, 1907), Albion Series, p. lxxi. The preference for initial *sch* in place of *sh* noted as characteristic of *The Seven Sages* in **P** is not present in the *Northern Passion* of **P** as against **h**. The usage of all three MSS. is regularly *sch* (*scheu* 2, 10\*, *scho* 105, 107, 108, 109, 110, etc., *schame* 124, *scheuwes* 532b, *schedew* 542a, etc.), but **P** shows a slight preference for *sh*: *shende* 506, *shent* 865, *shewes* 1004, *shame* 1240f, 163/678\*, *shewed* 1475, *shogged*, 1646g.

<sup>2</sup> In vv. 1–500 **H** has *ll* where **T** has *l* 25 times; **T** has *ll* where **H** has *l* 11 times. I have noted no cases where **T** presents *tt* and **H** *t*, but the reverse is true in vv. 113c, 206b, 211, 354, 514, 828, 828a, 1068, etc.

<sup>3</sup> This tendency is also present in the *Seven Sages* of **P**: *lyfed* 5, *lyfe* 10, *dyed* 18, *dught* 19, *wynter* 23, *lordynges* 41, *wyest* 43, etc. (ed. Campbell, pp. 1 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> In vv. 1–500 **T** reads *i* where **H** reads *y*, 29 times; and *y* for **H**'s *i* 15 times.

<sup>5</sup> This tendency is occasionally present in *The Seven Sages* of **P**: *selcouthes* 16, *telles* 35, 431, *scientes* 36, *falles* 94, 100, *cumes* 165, *walles* 202, *planetes* 214, etc. (ed. Campbell, 1907, p. 1 ff.).

reviser; not only are long passages added,<sup>1</sup> but some lines of the shorter version are omitted<sup>2</sup> and the arrangement is sometimes changed.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the text itself is frequently altered, rhyme and all. Thus, in the following passage chosen to illustrate the kind of changes made in expanding, it is to be noted that only seven of the twelve rhyme words of the shorter version are preserved in **o.**

565 whan ihesu saw þat dede don  
vnto petir he seyde riht anon  
Putte vp thi swerd and smyte no  
    more  
And þink on my fader þat smytiþ  
    ful sore  
for whoso wile wiþ swerd slon  
wiþ swerd h[e] schal his lyf for  
    gon  
þe knowe not and I wolde craue  
how moche help þat I myhte haue  
Sexti þousand of aungelis briht  
I myhte haue þis same nyht  
þat my fader wold me sende  
if þat I wold me defende

570

575

(D 565-76)

when ihesus saw þis dede was done,  
Vnto peter þus said he sone:  
*Mitte gladium tuum in uaginam.*  
*omnis enim qui gladio percutit gladio*  
*peribit.*  
“ Put vp,” he said, “ þi swerd ogaine,  
for he þat slase he shall be slane,  
And he þat smites with swerd, I wis  
Thurgh swerd he shall peris.  
Wenes þou noght and I wald craue  
þat I fra heuyn might helping haue?  
Haue I might and I wald send,  
ffra my fader me to defend  
Sexty thowsand of angels bright.  
þan suld þir men haue litill might

(H 565-76)

Where alterations of this sort are frequent, the determination of MS. relations is difficult. Many of the lines of **o** are not close enough to the shorter version to admit of any comparison, and even in the case of lines which can be compared, it is often impossible to decide to which of the shorter texts the relationship is closest. The following data, however, tend to connect **o** with group **d**.

**o** is closer to **d** than to **i** or **g**, as is shown by

*heuen : steuen* (rhyme words) 661, *thre* 1445, *yede* (went) 1553, *vnkowth* 1554, *lottis* 1591, *like* 1762; vv. 1574a-1574b.

As between **D**, **F** and **R**, **o** is closer to **D**, for in the following verses it agrees with **D** against **R** and **F**:

vnto Peter he seyde 566, þat 1603, per þei 1485, I wel 1929, paire 2003; vv. 739-40, 765-9, 757-8, 1708a-1708b.

<sup>1</sup> The most important additions are: the Introduction (2/1\*-3/56\*), the Judas story (132a-132d, 19/1\*-21/46\*, 826a-826e, 862a-862f), Cross Story (146/1\*-166/798\*), Mary on the road to Calvary (177/1\*-179/40\*), The Liberation of Joseph (1920a-1920p, 242/1\*-243/46\*, 243/1\*-245/56\*), Conclusion (248/1\*-249/26\*).

<sup>2</sup> 83–90, 347–50, 687–8, 1103–4, 1215–16, 1667–76, 1695–8, 1769–70, 1777–80, 2043–6.

<sup>3</sup> o 28a-28d = d 41-2; o 3/55\*-56\* = d 95-6; o 51/r\*-20\* = d 519-24; o 1808a-1808d = d 1829-34, o 1218a-1218x roughly corresponds to d 1249-64; in o vv. 1637-40 are inserted after 1804j, and vv. 1719-30 after 1764.

**o** cannot have used **D**, for **D** is later than **P**. Therefore the basis of the expanded *Passion* is some MS. of the **d** group similar to **D**.

Beside the fourteen extant texts of the *Northern Passion*, other MSS. undoubtedly once existed. Apart from **d**, **g**, **i**, **h** and **o**, whose relations to our MSS. have been discussed above; three more lost MSS. may be mentioned: (1) In the **g** group. **G<sub>1</sub>** was copied from a Northern MS.<sup>1</sup> and **Ad** from a Southern or Midland; therefore if **g** was Northern, as it probably was, **Ad** was copied from a lost Southern or Midland copy of **g**. (2) In group **d**. The East Midland characteristics of **R**<sup>2</sup>, which are not found in **D** and **F**, prove that it was copied from a lost East Midland copy of **d**. (3) In group **d**. The displacement of vv. 189–280 in **F**<sup>3</sup> was not in **d**, since the other MSS. of the group show no signs of it, but in a MS. intermediate between **d** and **F**. The discovery of some of these lost MSS. would, in all probability, throw new light on the relation of the MSS. and enable us to determine more exactly the affiliations of the extant texts.

## CHAPTER V

### SOURCES OF THE NORTHERN PASSION.

#### § 1. *Ultimate Sources.*

ALTHOUGH the source of the *Northern Passion* is stated by the author to be the Gospels,<sup>4</sup> the narrative is far from being a close rendering of the Bible: events are transposed, parts of the Gospels omitted, and legendary incidents introduced. Therefore, though the Bible is the ultimate basis of the poem, the immediate source must lie in one or more of the numerous mediæval works which tell the story of the Passion.

An author of about the year 1300, setting his hand to compose a narrative of the Passion, would have before him as available material Gospel Harmonies, Biblical commentaries, narratives of the Passion, and shorter works such as sermons, treatises, hymns, etc. The Gospel Harmonies were composed by weaving together all the incidents of the four Gospels to form a continuous narrative. The most famous of these harmonies was Tatian's *Diatessaron*, composed about the year 170. Though this work did not survive into the Middle

<sup>1</sup> See above, III, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> See above, III, § 11.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 14–15.

<sup>4</sup> Thy passion I wald ;howe tell  
pare on me must a stund dwell  
Als Mathew Marke luke & Iohn  
pare in accordys in tyll one. (7–10)

Ages, Victor of Capua was popularly supposed to have translated it, and his Latin Harmony is often cited as Tatian.<sup>1</sup> Augustine, although he did not write a true harmony, discussed at length in his *De Consensu Evangelistarum* (c. 400)<sup>2</sup> the points at which the narratives of the Gospels appear to differ, and by following his arrangement, it is possible to construct a nearly complete harmony. Some centuries later another Harmony was composed by Clement of Lanthonay (d. 1180).<sup>3</sup> Besides these harmonies which, it must be remembered, contained only the Biblical text, many narratives of the Passion were extant in the thirteenth century, either as parts of longer histories or as independent treatises. In Latin the most popular of these were Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* (twelfth century),<sup>4</sup> Petrus Riga's *Aurora* (thirteenth century)<sup>5</sup> and Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale* (thirteenth century);<sup>6</sup> among French works were Hermann of Valenciennes' *Histoire de la Bible* (c. 1189),<sup>7</sup> the *Passion de Clermont-Ferrand* (tenth century)<sup>8</sup> and a *Passion* in octosyllabic couplets;<sup>9</sup> while in English the *Cursor Mundi* (1260-90),<sup>10</sup> the *Southern Passion*,<sup>11</sup> and the *Passion of Our Lord* (c. 1250)<sup>12</sup> were available. Of the commentaries on Scripture, Augustine's *In Joanis Evangelium Tractatus CXXIV*,<sup>13</sup> Bede's *In Matthaei Evangelium Expositio*,<sup>14</sup> and Rabanus Maurus's *Commentariorum in Matthaeum Libri VIII*<sup>15</sup> (A.D. 822-826) could be used; among treatises or Meditations were Pseudo-Bernard's *Vitis Mystica seu Tractatus de Passione Domini*,<sup>16</sup> *Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Domini*,<sup>17</sup> and *Liber de Passione Christi etc.*,<sup>18</sup> Pseudo-Anselm's *Dialogus Beatæ Marie et Anselmi de Passione Domini*,<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The text of Victor of Capua is in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 68, col. 255 ff. For a list of early Harmonies and for the relation of Victor to Tatian, see Tischendorf, *Synopsis Evangelica* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. xii ff.

<sup>2</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 34, col. 1041 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For a list of MSS., see Forshall and Madden, *The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal Books in the Earliest English Versions* (Oxford, 1850), I, p. x. ff.

<sup>4</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 198, col. 1049 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Brit. Mus. Royal MSS., 2 D. XXIII, and 8 C. V. Extracts printed in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 212, col. 9-42, and see Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 1, 370.

<sup>6</sup> The *Passion* is related in Book VII, chaps. xxxvi-lxiii. Quotations are from the edition of Venice, 1494.

<sup>7</sup> For MSS. see Bonnard, *Les Traductions de la Bible en vers français au moyen âge* (Paris, 1884), p. 11 and Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 1, 655. The quotations in the text are from Egerton MS. 2710.

<sup>8</sup> Printed in *Romania*, II, pp. 295 ff.

<sup>9</sup> See below, pp. 160 ff., called by Roy (*Le Mystère de la Passion en France*, Dijon and Paris, 1903, p. 27\*), *La Passion des Jongleurs*.

<sup>10</sup> Printed in E. E. T. S., Original Series, 1874, etc. For date see Dr. Hupe, E. E. T. S., 101, p. 201\*.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 18, n. 7; quotations in the text are from Harleian MS. 2277.

<sup>12</sup> *Old English Miscellany*, E. E. T. S., 49, pp. 37 ff.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 92, col. 12 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 35, col. 1379 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 184, col. 635 ff.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 107, col. 729 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 182, col. 1133 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 184, col. 741 ff.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 159, col. 271 ff.

Arnold of Chartres's *De Cardinalibus Operibus Christi*,<sup>1</sup> etc. Besides these may be mentioned the *Vindicta Salvatoris*,<sup>2</sup> *Evangelium Nicodemi*,<sup>3</sup> and the great collection of legends in the *Legenda Aurea*.<sup>4</sup>

The numerous possible sources of the *Northern Passion* have been enumerated because some of them may have furnished suggestions to the author; the major portion of the poem, however, is based directly on the Old French *Passion* in octosyllabic couplets mentioned above. A discussion of the sources of the English, therefore, necessarily begins with the French *Passion*. Since the poem has already been described by M. Paul Meyer<sup>5</sup> and M. Émile Roy,<sup>6</sup> I shall confine myself to giving a list of MSS. in which it occurs and a discussion of its sources.

The poem consists of about 1482 octosyllabic lines in couplets. It gives an account of the events connected with the death of Christ from the conspiracy of the Jews to the Resurrection,<sup>7</sup> taken partly from Biblical and partly from legendary sources. Composed by an unknown author<sup>8</sup> at the close of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century,<sup>9</sup> it enjoyed such wide popularity that it was not only frequently copied separately, but was also introduced into at least three compilations on sacred history,<sup>10</sup> and influenced the French drama extensively.<sup>11</sup>

## § 2. *The French Passion: Manuscripts.*

In the following MSS. the poem occurs either separately, or in combination with a Harrowing of Hell based on the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.<sup>12</sup>

### O. Trinity College, Cambridge. O. 2. 14, ff. 13a-24b.<sup>13</sup>

Vellum, 220 × 155 mm., consisting of two parts: (1) 39 lines to a page, fifteenth century, *Secreta Secretorum*, incomplete: (2) double columns, 33 lines

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 189, col. 1610 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha* (1876), pp. 471-86.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 333-434.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Graesse, Dresden and Leipzig, 1846.

<sup>5</sup> Romania, XVI, 47-51, 226-9, 243-5; XXV, 551-3; XXXII, 102-3; *Notices et Extraits*, XXXIV, 1, 163-5; XXXIII, 1, 48-54.

<sup>6</sup> *Le Mystère de la Passion en France du quatorzième au seizième siècle* (Dijon and Paris, 1903), pp. 27\*-40\*.

<sup>7</sup> The poem has different endings in the different MSS. See below, pp. 50 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Gröber's original opinion that Geoffroi de Paris may have written the *Passion* (*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, VIII, p. 314), is not found in his later *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*, II, 1. p. 657, where he states that Geoffroi incorporated the originally independent *Passion* into his Bible (see below, p. 55).

<sup>9</sup> Meyer, *Notices et extraits*, XXXIV, 1. 163 and Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion en France*, p. 27\*. Gröber places it in the first third of the thirteenth century (*Grundriss*, II, 1. p. 657).

<sup>10</sup> See below, pp. 55 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Roy, pp. 40\*, 55\*, etc.

<sup>12</sup> Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha* (1876), pp. 389 ff.

<sup>13</sup> See P. Meyer, *Romania*, XXXII, 102-3 (and cf. *Romania*, V. 472-3, and *Bulletin de la société des anciens textes français*, 1880, 1. p. 68); M. R. James, *The Western MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* (1902), III, p. 99.

each, thirteenth century, first half,<sup>1</sup> the French *Passion*, *Le Roman des Romans*, a *Bestiary* of William the Norman, and two sermons all in French. Dr. James<sup>2</sup> thinks that the volume once belonged to Dr. John Dee.

The *Passion* is headed “*Sermones Mauritii Parisiensis episcopi*,”<sup>3</sup> but the poem has no connection with the Maurice de Sully known by that title.<sup>4</sup> The MS. is legibly written by an Anglo-Norman<sup>5</sup> scribe who has altered and confused the morphology, syntax and versification of his original.<sup>6</sup> The text is shorter than that of most MSS. by reason of the omission of couplets found in the other MSS. The final portion of the poem, where the MSS. differ most widely in arrangement, is here as follows: The death of Christ is thus indicated:—

Lores enclina soen chef ius  
Li espirit sen est issuzs  
Issuz est si com il le uoleit  
En enfern est ale tot dreit.

(1473–6)

The Harrowing of Hell, which probably originally followed, is in this MS. separated from these lines by an account of the marvels at Christ's death, the piercing of his side, the Burial, the Guarding of the Tomb, and the Resurrection.<sup>7</sup> It is introduced by a repetition of vv. 1475–6:

Issuz sen est si cum il uoleit  
En enfern alat tot dreit  
De enfern brisa les sereures  
E rumpi tutes les clostures  
Fors en getta sa compaignie  
Que del diable esteit rauie  
Il les conduit a son cher piere  
En sa gloire la ov il ere.

(1475–82)

<sup>1</sup> *Romania*, XXXII, 102. Dr. James dates it simply thirteenth century (p. 99).

<sup>2</sup> *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Fol. 13a.

<sup>4</sup> *Romania*, V, 472–3.

<sup>5</sup> Illustrations of the Anglo-Norman tendencies of the scribe are the substitution of *u* for *o* as in *recountrent* 10, *amunta* 11, *unt* 41, *mustrer* 51, *dolur* 75, *flaur* 81, *mun* 109, *seignur* 131, *tafum* 134, *nuelle* 209, etc., the use of *ee* for *e*, as in *enlermeez* 74 (pret. pple. mase. plural), *beueez* 197 (imperative plural), *sauueez* 198 (pret. pple. mase. plural), *a prees* 306, *dee* 384 (possessive of *Dicuus*), *noces* 1069 (pret. pple. mase. plural) and cf. *lees* 305 (1 sing. pres. of *leisser*); the use of *e* for *ie* in *pez* 47, 71, 76, 282, 284, 286, *quer* 609 (imperative sing.), *ben* 969, etc.

<sup>6</sup> The following are only a few of the cases where the scribe has confused the reading: 111 *Cil li pardoings* (for *Ie li pardoings*), 408 *Ihesum querant amen deuom* (for *Ihesum que nus amer deuom*), 765–6 *Il dit que al rei cesar le sage Ne deit hum doner treuage* (for *Dit qu'il cera nostre rois sages Ne li doit on faire hontage*). The Morphology is at fault in 10 *Que recountrent les ewangelistes* (for *li ewangeliste*), 230–40 *Frere dist deus la male gent Les diable met a nient* (for *le diable*), 259 *Uos estes le men ami* (for *li men ami*), etc. The versification is imperfect in vv. 7, 10, 12, 18, 20, 172, 274, 570, 1346, etc., etc.

<sup>7</sup> vv. 1483–1594.

The poem concludes thus :

A ses apostres saparut  
 Quarante iorz iluecques fut  
 Mustra lur la nouele lei  
 Puis les beissa chascun par sei  
 Issi uos puisset il saluer  
 E nosz almes de peines deliurer  
 Cum il pur nos suffri La mort  
 E fist a nüs grant confort amen.<sup>1</sup>

(1494a-1494h)

*Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fr. 1822, ff. 185a-193b.*<sup>2</sup> Thirteenth century.

This text is an awkward compilation in which the Burial and the Longinus incident are omitted. The order of events after the death of Christ is as follows : vv. 1477-82, 1594a-1594e describing the Harrowing of Hell and appearance of Christ to His apostles as in O; 43 vv. (also in Bib. Nat. fr. 20040) relating the desire of the Jews to beg for mercy at Christ's tomb, followed by a description of the merits of the Passion in saving man from hell; and the Harrowing of Hell according to the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. The poem ends with the Resurrection.<sup>3</sup>

*Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fr. 24301, ff. 265-291.* Thirteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

In this MS., as well as in Bib. Nat. fr. 20040, the *Passion* is preceded by a prologue, often found with a poem on the fifteen signs of Judgment, beginning :

Oies trestuit comunalment.<sup>5</sup>

The Harrowing of Hell<sup>6</sup> follows the death of Christ, but after this point the text and arrangement are independent of the O version. The imprisonment and liberation of Joseph and the legendary history of the grave are inserted, and the poem ends with a brief mention of the Ascension and a

“ Per infinita secula Amen ” (fol. 291a).

The long Harrowing of Hell, together with Christ's appearances to the apostles, etc., follows as a separate poem.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in *Romania*, XXXII, 103. Bonnard, *Les Traductions de la Bible en vers, français au moyen âge* (Paris, 1884), p. 52, cites the first three verses.

<sup>2</sup> Bonnard, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 1, 658, is mistaken in saying that Bib. Nat. MSS. fr. 1822, 20040, 24301, and Arsenal MS. 3527 close with a mere mention of the Resurrection and Ascension; for the long *Harrowing of Hell* occurs as part of the *Passion* in Bib. Nat. fr. 1822, fol. 193a; 20040, fol. 116b and Ars. 3527 (Bonnard, p. 50); while Bib. Nat. fr. 24301 adds it as a separate poem (ff. 291 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> *Romania*, XVI, 47. This MS. is used by Roy in his description of the *Passion*, pp. 27\*-35\*, where extracts are printed.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* The poem is printed by Grass (*Das Adamsspiel*, Foerster's *Romanische Bibliothek*, VI, Halle, 1891, pp. 57-67); see also Nölle, *Die Legende von den fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem jüngsten Gerichte* (Paul und Braune's *Beiträge*, VI, 413 ff.), and Dr. H. E. Sandison, *Quindecim Signa ante iudicium* (*Herrig's Archiv*, CXXIV, 73-82).

<sup>6</sup> vv. 1476-82, as in O.

*Phillipps MS.* 3643, ff. 105b–111a. Thirteenth century, end.<sup>1</sup>

From the quotations of M. Meyer<sup>1</sup> the arrangement appears to be that of **O**, i.e. the Resurrection is followed by the eight verses on the Harrowing of Hell and the conclusion.<sup>2</sup>

*Bibliothèque Municipale Lyons Ms.* 739, ff. 1–8b. Thirteenth century, end.<sup>3</sup>

The poem is incomplete, ending abruptly at Christ's death, thus :

Proiès que a la fin a dit,  
Si come reconte l'escrit,  
Qui tote creature pest  
Si li a dit ; *Consumatum est* ;  
Et dist ; Peres omnipotent  
Pardone ceste mal gent.<sup>4</sup>

*Trinity College, Cambridge, B. 14. 39, ff. 75b–80b.* Thirteenth century.

The MS. is described by Dr. James<sup>5</sup> and by M. Paul Meyer,<sup>6</sup> who quotes the first thirty-nine verses of the Prologue and the last eighteen of the *Passion*.<sup>7</sup> It has not, however, been pointed out that this *Passion* is a shortened form of the poem under discussion. After a prologue narrating the Entry into Jerusalem, etc.,<sup>8</sup> the *Passion* proper begins on fol. 75b :

[O]re escutet tut du cement  
Gardet qui ni ait parlement  
La passion deu entendent  
Cument il fu pur nus penez  
Ne la poet oir creature  
Ne ueit pite ia tant nert dure  
Pur ceo quil eit entendement  
Al rei del cel omnipotent. . . .

(1–8)

The text is shortened by the omission of many legendary and some Biblical incidents. The eight lines on the Harrowing of Hell follow Christ's death, but after v. 1510 (Pilate grants Jesus' body to Joseph) the text is not parallel to **O**. The poem ends :

<sup>1</sup> *Notices et extraits*, XXXIV, 1, 164 ff. <sup>2</sup> 1476–82, 1594a–1594b.

<sup>3</sup> *Romania*, IX, 162. Bonnard, p. 51; *Catalogue des Mss. des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1900), XXX, Pt. I, p. 198.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in *Romania*, IX, p. 162. The first four lines are 1467–70 of the printed text.

<sup>5</sup> *Catalogue of the Western MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* (1900), I, 438–49.

<sup>6</sup> *Romania*, XXXII, 20–62.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 38–9.

<sup>8</sup> ff. 74a–75b.

Ieo uus comand quel gardez	
Autre si ben ami uus sauez	
E cil qui ueiler ideueient	
Ignelle pas si dormeient	
Al ters iur si leua sus	
Nostre sire rei ihesus	
A ses apostles saparut	1594a
Quarante iurs od eus fu	1594b
Si leur mustrat la nouele lei	1594c
Puis les baisat checun par sei	1594d
Issi uus puseit sauuer	1594e
E sa glorie amener. Amen.	

(fol. 80)

*Arsenal 3527, ff. 182–191b.<sup>1</sup>* Fourteenth century.

Following Christ's death is the long Harrowing of Hell with details from the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. The narrative extends beyond the Resurrection.

*Arsenal 5204, fol. 17b.* Fourteenth century.

Preceding the *Passion* is a poem treating of the Annunciation, the Birth and Early Life of Christ.<sup>2</sup> This is not the same poem as No. 3 described below.<sup>3</sup> The Account of the Marriage at Cana is identical with that of Geoffroi of Paris.<sup>4</sup>

*Bibliothèque de Saint-Brieuc 112, ff. 41–50.* Fourteenth century.

This MS. is cited by Bonnard<sup>5</sup> as "probablement une variante du récit dont nous nous occupons." Through the description and extracts sent me by the kindness of M. Selbert, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque, I am able to identify the poem with the French *Passion*. It begins :

Incipit passio domini nostri ihesu christi

Or escoutez communament  
E si mescoutez doucement  
De nostre Seignor veil parler  
Se il vous plaist a escouter  
Mout deuez oir bonement  
Comme il soufrit pour nos torment  
Et comme il fut passionnez  
Et en la sainte croix penez

<sup>1</sup> Bonnard (pp. 49–50) describes this MS. and quotes vv. 1–12, 401–6, 1189–96.

<sup>2</sup> ff. 1–17. Begins :

"Or entendez, si faites pais  
De Damedieu et de ses fais. . . ."  
(Bonnard, p. 235.)

See also on this MS., Gröber in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, VIII, p. 315.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 1526. See below, p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> p. 53.

Pour nous retirer de prison  
 Ou nous ot mis le premier hom<sup>1</sup>  
 La passion de entendez  
 Comme il fut por nous trementez  
 Ne la pout oir creature . . .

(fol. 41a, col. 1)

The poem is imperfect, breaking off at the crucifixion :

Tot li percerent jusques os  
 Par les paumes sallit le sang  
 Qui aval cort parmi le flanc  
 Un en fier parmi les piez  
 Or est Ihesu bien doficier.

(fol. 50)<sup>2</sup>

*Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fr. 20040, fol. 105. Fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup>*

The *Passion* is preceded by the same prologue which occurs in Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 24301.<sup>4</sup>

The latter part of the poem (after v. 1476) is expanded; vv. 1477–82 on the Harrowing of Hell are not present. After v. 1592 are the forty-three verses<sup>5</sup> describing the remorse of the Jews who wished to beg for pardon at Christ's tomb, and relating the merits of the Passion to save men from Hell; following this is the Harrowing of Hell drawn from the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.

*Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fr. 9588 ff. 78b–110a. Fifteenth century.*

In this MS.<sup>6</sup> the poem is lengthened by the insertion after Christ's death of the Harrowing of Hell from the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and the story of Sidonie.

*Kaiserlich-königliche Hofbibliothek zu Wien, MS. 3430.  
ff. 82a–112a. Fifteenth century.*

The MS.<sup>7</sup> contains (1) a paraphrase of the psalm *Eructavit* (ff. 1–39)<sup>8</sup> entitled “De l'advenement nostre seigneur,” beginning, “Une chancon que dauid fist”; (2) “De la nativité nostre seigneur,” beginning, “Entendez seigneurs un petit,”

<sup>1</sup> The preceding six verses are not found in other MSS. of the *Passion*.

<sup>2</sup> vv. 1322–6. Bonnard (p. 53) is mistaken in saying the poem ended at v. 1321.

<sup>3</sup> *Romania*, XVI, p. 47; Bonnard, pp. 51–2. <sup>4</sup> See above, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> These verses are also in Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 1822, ff. 192b ff., and Brit. Mus. Addit. MS., 15606.

<sup>6</sup> Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 1. 657, note 3.

<sup>7</sup> This description of the MS. is from *Tabulae Codicum Manu Scriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi Asservatorum*, edidit Academia Caesarea (Vindobonensis, Vienna, 1868), II, p. 289. vv. 1189–1216 are printed by Mussafia (*Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie Phil. Hist.*, Klasse LXIII, 212–13, see also p. 175, note 27).

<sup>8</sup> For MSS. of this poem see *Romania*, VI, 9 and cf. P. Paris, *Les Mss. françois de la Bibliothèque du Roi* (Paris 1848), VII, 208; Gröber, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, IV, 95–7. Brit. Mus. Addit. MS., 15606 also contains both the *Passion* and the paraphrase of *Eructavit*.

ending, "Et puis recut mort et passion" (ff. 39–81); (3) The *Passion* entitled "De la Passion nostre seigneur," beginning "Oez moy trestous doucement," ending, "In seculorum secula" (ff. 82–112); (4) The *Image du Monde* of Gautier de Metz.<sup>1</sup>

The *Passion*, which contains about 1622 lines, ends with the same phrase as Arsenal 5201, and does not, so far as I can judge, contain the long Harrowing of Hell.

*Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fr. 1526, ff. 92a ff.* Dated 1243.

The *Passion* forms part of the *Bible des Sept Estaz du Monde* of Geoffroi de Paris.<sup>2</sup> The text is expanded by the insertion of Biblical and legendary incidents such as the Cursed fig-tree, the Rebuke of Martha, the Lament of Mary at the Cross, the Harrowing of Hell from the Gospel of Nicodemus (following the death of Christ), the purchase of the grave cloth from Sidonie, etc.

*Arsenal 3516 ff. 47b–50.* Thirteenth century.

A portion of the French *Passion*, according to M. Meyer,<sup>3</sup> forms one of the several insertions in the French Bible of Hermann de Valenciennes. The insertion, which lacks three leaves and a half at the opening, begins :

*Chi commence la traison des Juif et de Judas, qui trai Deu nostre signor.*

A icel dit li poples sus estait  
Tote creiante entor Pilate vait;

and ends :

Explicit la Passion Nostre Segnor.<sup>4</sup>

In several MSS. the *Passion* forms part of a long compilation which includes some or all of the following originally independent poems<sup>5</sup>:

- (1) The Ancestors of Mary, beginning : "Dieu qui cest siecle comenca."
- (2) The History of Mary and Jesus, beginning : "Qui Dieu aime parfaitement."

<sup>1</sup> For MSS. of *L'Image du monde*, see Fant in *Upsala Universitets Årsskrift*, 1886; Grand, *Revue des langues romanes*, XXVII (1893), pp. 17 ff., and Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 1, p. 757. MSS. containing both the *Passion* and *L'Image du Monde* are Vienna, 3430, Saint-Brieuc, 112, and Bib. Nat. fr. 1822. Camb. Univ. Gg., 1. 1 contains *L'Image* and the *Northern Passion*.

<sup>2</sup> Gröber, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, VIII, 426 and *Grundriss*, II, 1, 657; E. Roy, *Mystère de la Passion en France*, p. 37\*; Bonnard, p. 42; *Notices et extraits*, XXXIV, 1. 198–209; XXXV, 1, 152, 156; *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXII, 49.

<sup>3</sup> *Romania*, XVI, 243, and XVII, 143; see also *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, VIII, 315, and Bonnard, p. 85 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Catalogue des MSS. des Bibliothèques publiques de France, *Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, p. 397.

<sup>5</sup> For MSS. and extracts of these poems see *Romania*, XV, 469–70; XVI, 44–56, 214–31. The compilation is printed from the Montpellier MS. in *Revue des langues romanes*, XXVIII, 118–23, 157–258; portions are printed in Herrig's *Archiv*, LXVII, 263–8; Reinsch, *Pseudo-Evangelien von Jesu und Maria's Kindheit* (Halle, 1879), pp. 42–74; and *Ein Schoen alt Lied von Grave Fritz von Zolre* (ed. Joseph von Lassberg, 1842), pp. 67–80.

- (3) The Childhood of Jesus, beginning : “ Dire vos veul chi et retraire.”
- (4) The *Passion*, beginning : “ Or escutez mut ducement.”
- (5) The Descent into Hell and after-life of Christ. Beginning usually fused with No. 4.
- (6) The Assumption, beginning : “ Après la sainte passion.”

*Arsenal* 5201, ff. 106b–130b. Thirteenth century, first half.

This MS.<sup>1</sup> contains Nos. 2, 4, 5 and 6 of the poems mentioned above. The Harrowing of Hell occurs twice, once at the end of No. 3, as in **O**, and again in an extended form at the opening of No. 4.<sup>2</sup> This appears to be the only MS. of the long compilation in which the *Passion* and the Harrowing of Hell are kept distinct.

*Bibliothèque de l'École de Médecine de Montpellier* 350,  
ff. 43–8. End of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century.

An abridged form of the *Passion* is combined with Nos. 1, 2, 5 and 6. The *Passion* occupies vv. 2865–3326 of the printed edition,<sup>3</sup> but in so altered a form that it is only by certain couplets in the Supper at Simon the Leper's<sup>4</sup> and the Denial of Peter<sup>5</sup> that the French *Passion* can be recognized. Except for Peter's Denial, which is given at length, the Trial and Crucifixion of Jesus are not narrated, but merely summarized in ten lines.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Romania*, XVI, 44–53, where vv. 1–66, 1173–1231, 1476–82 and 1594a–1594h are printed.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 51–2.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue des langues romanes*, XXVIII, 230–41; see also *Romania*, XVI, 44 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Montpellier, 2881–2 = Pass. 69–70; M. 2899 = P. 67; M. 2904 = P. 73; M. 2905–6 = P. 75–6; M. 2951–2 = P. 111–12; M. 2959–60 = P. 93–4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 3135–8 = Pass. 681–4; M. 3140–43 = P. 686–89; M. 3147–50 = P. 691–4; M. 3159–60 = P. 669–70. M. Meyer says (*Rom.*, XVI, 48): “ Ce poème de la passion est à première vue distinct du récit qui, dans le MS. de Montpellier publié par M. Chabaneau, occupe les vers 2865 à 3867. Toutefois, ce dernier texte a un certain nombre de vers en commun avec le nôtre et pourrait bien en être une sorte de remaniement.”

<sup>6</sup> Forment gemist, soupire et plore,  
Et se tormenté et maludit l'heure  
Que il onques fu nez de mere;  
Or li est trop sa vie amere.

Dont fut Jhesu a mort jugiés  
Et en crois mis por nos pechiés.

Iluec soufri mortel doulor  
Nostre sire, por nostre amor.

Or esgardez que vos ferez,  
Com faitement vos li rendrez,

Que quant vendra au jugement,  
Que li felon seront dolent,

Que ne perdez sa compaignie,  
Por la joie de ceste vie.

Le vendredi fu en la crois,  
Por nostre amor, li sovrain rois.

Done vint Joseph I. chevaliers, etc.

3171

3175

3180

3185

*Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS. 20, fol. 18a.* Dated 1323.

Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6 are contained in this MS.<sup>1</sup> The long Harrowing of Hell is joined to the death of Christ, the rest of the poem being a different version from that of **O**.

*Grenoble Ms. 1137, ff. 73a–107b.* Fourteenth century, beginning.

This MS.<sup>2</sup> contains Nos. 1–6. The long Harrowing of Hell is joined to the death of Christ as in Fitzwilliam 20.

In certain MSS. of Wace's *Conception*<sup>3</sup> dating from the end of the thirteenth century or later, portions of this long compilation are introduced.

*British Museum Additional MS. 15606, fol. 58.* Fourteenth century, beginning.

The *Passion* together with part of the History of Mary's Ancestors and the Life of Mary and Jesus is introduced into Wace's *Conception*.<sup>4</sup> Except for the insertion of the eight verses on the Harrowing of Hell after the death of Christ, the *Passion* is the same as the version in Bib. Nat. fr. 20040.

*Bibliothèque Nationale MSS. Moreau, 1715–19 ff., 169b, ff.* Dated 1773.

These five volumes<sup>5</sup> contain a copy made for M. Sainte-Palaye in 1773 of two ancient MSS. belonging to the Marquis of La Clayette. The first, which contained the *Conception*, was written at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. The History of Mary and Jesus, part of the *Passion*, together with the *Descent into Hell*, are inserted in Wace's *Conception*. By the omission of the usual prologue to the *Passion*, the Supper at Simon the Leper's (v. 58 of the *Passion*) is joined to the end of the poem on Mary and Jesus.

The text of the French *Passion*, as has been shown, varies widely in the different MSS.; in fact the versions of the end of the poem are almost as numerous as the MSS. in which they occur. The beginning, on the other hand, is usually the same as in **O**, but it may be preceded by a short prologue,<sup>6</sup> or by an account

<sup>1</sup> James's *Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS. in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (1895), pp. 31 ff. (vv. 165–74, 177–82 printed); *Romania* XXV, 546–54 (vv. 1–40, 1467–76 printed).

<sup>2</sup> *Romania* XVI, 214–31 (vv. 1–56, 1173–1216, 1465–76 printed).

<sup>3</sup> Printed by Mancel and Trebutien (*L'Établissement de la Fête de la Conception Notre Dame*, etc., Caen, 1842), and by V. Luzarche (*La Vie de la Vierge Marie de Maître Wace*, Tours, 1859). For MSS. and discussions of the poem, see Reinsch, *Pseudo-Evangelien*, pp. 19–20; Bonnard, p. 222; *Romania*, VI, 10–11; VIII, 310; XVI, 54, 232 ff.; *Notices et Extraits*, XXXIII, 2, 202 ff., *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, VIII, 315.

<sup>4</sup> *Romania* XVI, 232–47 (vv. 1–22, 1175–98, 1465–84 printed); part of No. 1 (*The Ancestors of Mary*) is printed from this MS. by Reinsch, in Herrig's *Archiv*, LXVII, pp. 263–8.

<sup>5</sup> *Notices et extraits*, XXXIII, 1, pp. 8, 48–57.

<sup>6</sup> Bib. Nat. fr. 20040 and 24301, and Trinity College, Camb. B. 14, 39.

of the early life of Christ,<sup>1</sup> and the opening lines may be omitted.<sup>2</sup> Now the *Northern Passion* does not correspond with any MS. of the French poem which I have examined. The variations are particularly noticeable at the beginning and the end : the Council of the Jews from Luke<sup>3</sup> and Matthew<sup>4</sup> in the French is in the *Northern Passion* increased by the account of John xi, 47–51, 53 ; furthermore, between the Council of the Jews and the Supper at Simon the Leper's is inserted the Entry into Jerusalem ;<sup>5</sup> while at the end of the poem, Christ's appearance to Mary<sup>6</sup> and the Bribing of the Guard<sup>7</sup> are added to the Resurrection. At first sight the English poem appears to be a rearrangement of an expanded version of the French text in which the Passion proper is preceded by the Entry into Jerusalem<sup>8</sup> and continued by the addition of the Appearance to Mary.<sup>9</sup> A closer comparison, however, reveals the following points of difference : (1) The English poet certainly relates one incident, i. e. the Bribing of the Guard, which is not in the French poem. (2) The Appearance to Mary as related in the *Northern Passion* is not that given in the French *Passion*. (3) The Entry into Jerusalem when present in the French is placed before the Council of the Jews and before the Prologue of the *Passion*.<sup>10</sup> (4) Almost all MSS. of the French text containing the Appearance to Mary and the Entry into Jerusalem contain also the long Harrowing of Hell according to the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, which is not found in the *Northern Passion*. In other words, though some of the additional incidents in the *Northern Passion* are contained in MSS. of the extended version of the French poem, neither the text nor the arrangement is parallel. The probability is therefore that the English poet used some MS with the extent of **O**, and not the extended version.

The text upon which the English poem is based may be in part reconstructed by selecting, from the different extant MSS. of the French, the characteristics parallel to the *Northern Passion*. For example : (1) It lacked the couplets after vv. 32, 116, 178, 224, 278, 318, 338, 370, 378, 382, 446, 521, 496, 504, etc., which are found in most MSS. of the French but are not in **O**. (2) It included vv. 127–8, 215–16, 251–2, 365–6, 385–6, 399–400, 429–32, 447–8, 483–4, etc., not in **O** but present in most MSS. (3) Vv. 1475–82 on the Harrowing of Hell followed v. 1474. In general this text was nearer to **O** than to any other MS. which I have examined.

<sup>1</sup> Vienna 3430, Arsenal 5201, Bib. Nat. fr. 1526, Montpellier 350, Grenoble 1137, Addit. 15606, Bib. Nat. MS. Moreau, 1715.

<sup>2</sup> Montpellier, 350 and Bib. Nat. Moreau 1715.

<sup>3</sup> Luke xxii, 1–2.

<sup>4</sup> Mt. xxvi, 3–5.

<sup>5</sup> *North. Pass.*, 61–92.

<sup>6</sup> *North. Pass.*, 1977–2000.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 2001–78.

<sup>8</sup> e. g. Trinity College, Camb. B., 14, 39, and the MSS. of the long compilation cited above on pp. 55–56.

<sup>9</sup> Bib. Nat. fr. 20040, 24301, etc.

<sup>10</sup> With the exception of Montpellier 350 and Bib. Nat. fr. Moreau 1715–19, both of which present an abbreviated text of the *Passion*.

### § 3. The French Passion : Sources.

The chief source of the French *Passion* is the Bible itself. Dependence on mediæval harmonies, histories, etc., such as might be expected in a popular story, cannot be proved in the French *Passion*; for the peculiarities in the arrangement of the events from the different Gospels, though for the most part supported by the authority of Clement of Llanthony,<sup>1</sup> Arnold of Chartres,<sup>2</sup> and a treatise popularly ascribed to St. Anselm,<sup>3</sup> cannot as a whole be found in any one author; while in two cases, the Trial before Caiaphas<sup>4</sup> and the end of the Trial before Pilate,<sup>5</sup> the order of the *Passion* is not met with elsewhere. Since then no intermediate work will account for its arrangement, and since the text is in general a paraphrase of the Vulgate<sup>6</sup> the French *Passion* is probably based directly on the Bible.

<sup>1</sup> British Museum Royal MS. 3. A. X. Jesus' commendation of Mary to John precedes the words to the Good Thief (vv. 1381 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> *De Ablutione Pedum* (*De Cardinalibus Operibus Christi*, Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 189, col. 1650) supplies the authority for placing the Washing of the Disciples' feet (279 ff.) before, instead of after, the Eucharist. The Latin is quoted by Roy, p. 221-2.

<sup>3</sup> *Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini* (Migne, 159, col. 273). In the Capture, Jesus' question "Quem queritis," etc., from John xviii, 4-8, precedes Judas's kiss and Jesus' speech, "Amice, ad quid venisti," from Matt. xxvi, 49-50 (see French *Passion*, 459 ff.). This order is also found in the Latin verse life of Mary and Christ in British Museum Additional MS. 29434 (end of thirteenth or beginning of fourteenth century), f. 86b; the French *Passion* of British Museum Egerton MS. 2781 (fourteenth century), f. 138a; the South English *Passion of Our Lord* (c. 1250) printed in *Old English Miscellany* (E. E. T. S. 49), p. 42; *Cursor Mundi* (E. E. T. S. ed.), 15750 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The questioning of John xviii, 19-23 (596-626), is introduced between the rendering of Matt. xxvi, 62 (591-5) and 63 (627 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> Pilate's Washing of his Hands (1045-56) is separated from the Condemnation not only by the Scourging (1057-1104) but also by Pilate's altercation with the Jews and with Jesus (John xix, 4-15; French *Passion*, 1105-72).

<sup>6</sup> The parallels of the French *Passion* with the Vulgate are as follows :

13-22 Lu. xxii, 1-2.	509-530 Mt. xxvi, 55-57.
23-32 Mt. xxvi, 3-5.	531-560 Jo. xviii, 14-16.
33-44 Mt. xxvi, 6; Jo. xii, -12.	561-566 Mk. xiv, 51-52.
69-116 Jo. xii, 3-8; Mt. xxvi, 10-13;	567-584 Mt. xxvi, 59-61.
Lu. vii, 48.	585-586 Jo. ii, 20.
125-140 Mt. xxvi, 14-16.	587-590 Mt. xxvi, 66.
141-165 Mt. xxvi, 17-20; Lu. xxii, 9-14.	591-595 Mt. xxvi, 62.
183-190 Lu. xxii, 15-16.	596-626 Jo. xviii, 19-23.
191-212 Mt. xxvi, 26-28; Lu. xxii,	627-658 Mt. xxvi, 63-66.
19-20; 1 Cor. xi, 24-27.	659-666 Lu. xxii, 56-57; Jo. xviii, 25.
213-234 Mt. xxvi, 21-25.	667-684 Jo. xviii, 25-27.
235-276 Lu. xxii, 24-32.	685-697 Mk. xiv, 68-71; Mt. xxvi, 73-74.
277-310 Jo. xiii, 4-17.	698-704 Lu. xxii, 61-62.
311-340 Mt. xxvi, 31-35.	705-726 Lu. xxii, 63-65; Mt. xxvi, 67-68..
341-355 Lu. xxii, 35-36, 38.	727-756 Lu. xxii, 66-71.
356-359 Jo. xviii, 1.	757-772 Lu. xxii, 1-2.
360-458 Mt. xxvi, 36-48; Lu. xxii, 39-46.	773-810 Mt. xxvii, 3-7.
459-476 Jo. xviii, 4-8.	815-828 Mt. xxvii, 11-14.
477-482 Mt. xxvi, 49-50; Lu. xxii, 48.	829-934 Lu. xxii, 4-19.
483-504 Mt. xxvi, 51-53; Lu. xxii, 50;	975-988 Mt. xxvii, 19.
Jo. xviii, 10.	989-1026 Jo. xviii, 29-37.

Interwoven with the Biblical matter are legendary and apocryphal incidents, some drawn from the great body of tradition common to all writers of the Middle Ages, some taken from more obscure sources. Although the widespread popularity of some of the legends makes impossible an exact statement as to the sources used in the *Passion*, the *Historia Scholastica* represents the type of treatise probably used by the author. Most of the common legendary incidents in the *Passion* are to be found here. Thus, compare the speech of Judas at Simon the Leper's,

iol uos rendrai  
Ceste perte restorrerai  
As iuels uos uendrai qui me dorront  
Des bons deniers t uos prendront,  
(121-4)

with the *Historia Scholastica*, “ ita volebat Judas recompensare unguenti perditionem.”<sup>1</sup> The common mediæval opinion that Judas was damned not for his treachery, but for his despair and suicide (vv. 792-6), is distinctly stated by Comestor :

Dicit Hieronymus super CVIII psal. quia magis offendit Judas Deum, quando se suspendit, quam in hoc quod eum prodidit.<sup>2</sup>

The legend that the devil, in fear that Christ would save sinners, sent a warning dream to Pilate's wife, is probably based on the *Historia Scholastica*, which after quoting Matthew xxvii. 19, adds :

Iam Dei nutu poterat cognoscere diabolus mysterium crucis, et ideo laborabat ne Christus moreretur.<sup>3</sup>

The addition of the French *Passion*, that the devil came in person, does not occur in earlier works. The popular legend of the healing of the blind knight who pierced Christ's side (vv. 1525-44) is also in Peter Comestor.

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1027-1032	Mt. xxvii, 20.	1392-1408	Mt. xxvii, 39-43.
1033-1040	Lu. xxiii, 15-16, 18.	1409-1424	Lu. xxiii, 39-43.
1041-1104	Mt. xxvii, 23-25, 27-30; Jo. xix, 1-2.	1425-1434	Lu. xxiii, 44-45; Mt. xxvii, 45.
1105-1176	Jo. xix, 4-16.	1435-1442	Mt. xxvii, 46-47.
1177-1178	Mt. xxvii, 31.	1443	Jo. xix, 28.
1221-1224	Jo. xix, 17.	1451-1466	Jo. xix, 29; Mt. xxvii, 48-49.
1261-1272	Mt. xxvii, 32; Lu. xxiii, 26.	1467-1470	Jo. xix, 30.
1273-1304	Lu. xxiii, 27-30.	1471-1474	Lu. xxiii, 46.
1307-1311	Lu. xxiii, 32.	1483-1502	Mt. xxvii, 51-54.
1312-1320	Mt. xxvii, 33, 35; Jo. xix, 23-24.	1503-1510	Mt. xxvii, 57-58; Lu. xxiii, 50-52; Jo. xix, 38.
1327-1338	Jo. xix, 18-22.	1511-1533	Jo. xix, 31-34.
1341-1348	Lu. xxiii, 34.	1545-1560	Mt. xxvii, 59-60; Lu. xxiii, 53; Jo. xix, 40-42.
1349-1356	Jo. xix, 25.	1561-1590	Mt. xxvii, 62-66.
1381-1389	Jo. xix, 26-27.		

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<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 198, col. 1614.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 1625.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 1628; on this legend see below p. 78.

Sed unus militum lancea latus ejus dextrum perforavit, et continuo exivit sanguis, et aqua, et qui lanceavit eum, ut tradunt quidam, cum fere caligassent oculi ejus, et casu tetigisset oculos sanguine ejus, clare vidit.<sup>1</sup>

In the French, Longinus expresses contrition for his deed, begs for mercy and is pardoned. The Harrowing of Hell (1474-82) is casually mentioned in the *Historia Scholastica*: "De sanctis, quos eduxit de inferno, si quaeritur ubi fuerint post resurrectionem, Deus novit,"<sup>2</sup> but the French couplet

De enfern brisa les sereures  
E rumpi tutes les clostures

(1477-8)

implies that the poet also knew the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, where the breaking down of the portals of Hell is described in some detail.<sup>3</sup>

The Legend of the Cross, which appears in many forms in mediæval literature,<sup>4</sup> is related in the French<sup>5</sup> according to the *Rationale diuinorum officiorum* of Johannes Beleth, in the section "de exaltatione sanctæ crucis":

De ligno domini legitur, quod Adám passus guttam misit filium suum ad paradysum et datum sibi ramum ab angelo detulit et illius arboris cognoscens mysterium terrae affixit. et in magnam arborem producta est. postea uero cum in templi constructione de diuersis partibus mundi arbores afferentur, allata est et haec et relicta est tamquam inutilis. unde postea facta est quasi salebria supra quasdam foueas ciuitatis. quam cum Saba regina intrauit noluit transire sed adorauit.<sup>6</sup>

The one<sup>7</sup> detail of the French not in Beleth, namely the identification of the tree with the cypress,

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 198, col. 1633-4. For a discussion of this legend, see Dr. R. J. Peebles: *The Legend of Longinus in Ecclesiastical Tradition and in English Literature, and its Connection with the Grail* (Bryn Mawr Monographs, Monograph Series IX, 1911).

<sup>2</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 198, col. 1637.

<sup>3</sup> Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha* (Leipzig, 1876), pp. 389 ff., esp. Ch. V; on the Harrowing of Hell, see also *The Middle-English Harrowing of Hell*, E. E. T. S. Extra Series C; Wülecker, *Das Evangelium Nicodemi in der abendländischen Literatur* (Paderborn, 1872).

<sup>4</sup> For general discussions of the Cross Legend, see William Meyer, *Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christus, Abhandlungen der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse*, XVI (1881); Napier, *History of the Holy Rood Tree*, E. E. T. S. 103; and see also Mussafia: "Sulla Leggenda del legno della Croce," *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, LXIII (1869), pp. 165 ff.; and Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, E. E. T. S. 46.

<sup>5</sup> vv. 1199-1260. Printed from Arsenal MS. 2501 in *Romania* XVI. p. 50; from Grenoble MS. 1137 in *Romania* XVI. p. 227-8; from British Museum Additional MS. 15606 in *Romania* XVI. p. 244; and from Vienna MS. 3430 in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, LXIII. p. 212-13. <sup>6</sup> Quoted by Meyer, p. 115; also in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 202 col. 153.

<sup>7</sup> vv. 1195-6:

Dou Poumier fu ou crut la pome  
Qui mist a mort le premier hom

are probably not part of the original French *Passion*. For this detail is not in Beleth, the source; the lines do not occur in O (early thirteenth century), and furthermore they introduce confusion, in that the poem states within the short space of three lines that a branch from an apple-tree was called cypress.

Hume dist que cipres aueit a non,  
(1197)

is found in the French *Bible* of Herman of Valenciennes :

La croiz unt faite li felun bachiler  
Dun mult bel fust cypres oi nomer<sup>1</sup>

From Bernard's *Vitis Mystica* the poet took the interpretation of Christ's Thirst as a spiritual thirst to save men (1445-50) :

"Sed non satis credibile est ipsum de siti corporali dixisse, ut potem peteret carnalem, qui in instanti se sciebat carnaliter moriturum : sed potius desiderium ardentissimum salutis nostrae ipsum credimus sitivisse."<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, from Pseudo-Bernard's *Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Domini* is drawn the Legend that Judas wakes while the apostles sleep in Gethsemane :

Judas ne dort ore nient  
Et uos reposez seurement.  
(439-440)

Vel Judam non videtis, quomodo non dormit? Quam pervigiles habet oculos avaritia! quomodo circuit orbem terrae! non cessat manus ejus, non cessat pes, et coacervat sibi iram in die irae. Et tamen dormit Simon, dormit Jacobus et Joannes.<sup>3</sup>

Also in connection with the evident proximity of Judas and John to Jesus at the Last Supper (166-177) may be noted Bernard's words :

Quid enim columbae et corvo? quid candidae et nigro? quid Judae et Joanni? quid Christo et Belial? Et tamen Christus inter Judam et Joannem sedet medius, inter electum et reprobum latronem medius pendet, etc.<sup>4</sup>

The legend that John, sleeping on Jesus' breast, saw visions of heaven (176-82) is of course founded on John xiii. 23 and 25: "Erat ergo recumbens unus ex discipulis eius in sinu Jesu, quem diligebat Jesus. . . . Itaque cum recubuisse illi supra pectus Jesu, dicit . . ." but the two traditions that John drew secrets from Jesus' breast and that John slept on Jesus' breast were at first separate. The former occurs in Augustine,<sup>5</sup> Gregory of Tours,<sup>6</sup> and Bede;<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harleian MS. 2253, fol. 32a. The tradition is also found in *Cursor Mundi*, 8827; the Cross Legend of Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 763, printed by Bonnard, p. 89 (see also Napier, E. E. T. S. 103, pp. 63 ff.); and Mandeville (ed. Roxburgh Club), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 184, col. 662.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* col. 743. See also the sermon on the Passion in British Museum Royal MS. 7. B. VII (fifteenth century), fol. 281b, "Dormite et requiescite non videtis quomodo. Judas non dormit set festinat me tradere iudeis."

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 184, col. 754.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 35, col. 1801; on this legend, see Roy, pp. 30\*, 222-3, 333-4.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 92, col. 810; see also *Glossa Ordinaria*, Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 114, col. 426.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 71, col. 730.

the latter does not appear before the tenth century, but is then found in Abdias<sup>1</sup> and in the *Passion de Clermont-Ferrand*.<sup>2</sup> The combination of the two legends which occurs in the French *Passion* is found in a Latin sermon of a certain Ogerius (d. 1149)<sup>3</sup>:

Erat ergo recumbens unus ex discipulis ejus in sinu Jesu, quem diligebat Jesus. Felix, inquam, discipulus ille, cui sic erat familiaris auctor vitae, quae nunc est, et futurae: nimis honoratus est discipulus ille, qui sui capitum habuit reclinatorium tam venerabile pectus, scilicet Jesu. . . . O quam bene quiescebat, qui supra pectus Christi quiescebat! O beate apostole Dei, discipule Jesu Christi, Joannes beate, utinam mererer illius dulcissimos pedes osculando lacrymis rigare, in cujus pectore tu meruisti dormire! . . . Per sinum sive pectus significabatur illud secretum, de quo babit divinitas sacramentum. . . . Et merito de proditore suo magistrum interrogare non timuit, cui jam in sinu Divinitatis, veritatis magister rimari secreta dolorum monstravit . . . illum mihi rogo ne celes, cui tuae divinitatis secreta es dignatus revelare.<sup>4</sup>

Herman of Valenciennes also relates the legend in his Bible:

Coe est Johans, bien le *vous* lai numer  
Ki la science but quant dormit al super  
Sur le piz de son maistre.<sup>5</sup>

For a few incidents of the French *Passion* I have found no source.

(1) Judas sat down to supper even before Jesus; his lord loved him so much that he always ate with him;<sup>6</sup> but the traitor, while Jesus was drinking, stole the best piece of his fish (166–75).

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes*, II, p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> Romania II, 302. M. Roy (p. 223) is mistaken in saying that this *Passion* contains the legend that John drew secrets from Jesus' breast. The passage is as follows:

Jhesus lo bons per sa pietad  
tan dulcement pres a parler;  
sobre son peiz fex condurmir  
sant Johan lo son cher amic.

<sup>3</sup> Chevallier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1907), II, p. 3406, article *Ogier*.

<sup>4</sup> *Sermones de Verbis Domini in Coena*, III, 4 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 184, col. 891–2).

<sup>5</sup> Harl. MS. 2253, fol. 23a, quoted by Roy, p. 29\*. The story often occurs in later works: Odo of Cheriton (Balliol College, Oxford MS. 38, fol. 99a); Ludolph of Saxony, *Vita Christi* (ed. Paris, 1865), p. 584; Michael di Massa (d. 1336), *De Passione Domini* (Bodleian MS. 758, fol. 43b), all in Latin; in French: *Passion selon Gamaliel*, printed 1485 (Roy, p. 333); *Passion d'Arnoul Greban*, 1452 (Roy, p. 222); and in English: *Cursor Mundi* (E. E. T. S.), 15245 ff., *Northern English Homily Collection* of Harl. 4196 (Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg. n. F.*, p. 35), *South English Legendary* (E. E. T. S. 87), p. 403, 406.

<sup>6</sup> This incident of the French *Passion* appears to have influenced the *Cursor Mundi*, 15215 ff.:

þe lorde was to þe soper sette  
his felawes him be-side.  
Ivdas of þa xii. was an.  
his surname scariot hiȝt  
to ete wiþ ihesu he him sette  
þ redi has him diȝt.

Though I have found no exact parallel to this incident in earlier literature, the materials from which it was built up are easily distinguishable. Judas was a thief according to the Gospels (John xii. 6, “ quia fur erat ”). Greediness or gluttony might easily be read into the story of Judas's taking the sop from Jesus after supper<sup>1</sup>: indeed the incident is given this interpretation by Herman of Valenciennes :

Judas oueri sa buche ainz quil fust apelez  
Li morsels fut tut pres t ben est temprez  
La grant gule baee dedenz li est botez.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, Jesus' words, “ Qui intingit mecum manum in paropside, hic me tradet ” (Matt. xxvi. 23), might easily suggest a theft on Judas's part. Finally, the fish is already present at the Last Supper in early Christian art and literature.<sup>3</sup> From these traditions, then, the story in the text could easily be built up.

(2) The soldier whose ear Peter had cut off in the garden accosts him in the Hall of Caiaphas (673–84). The Bible calls this man “ cognatus eius cuius abscidit Petrus auriculam ” (John xviii. 26), but the French *Passion* in 677–80,

Ia me feris tu de ta espéé  
Si que l oreille en oi colpee  
E tis mestres La sana  
Ke par itant guarir quida,

identifies him with the injured soldier himself.<sup>4</sup>

(3) The land which the Jews bought with Judas's thirty pieces was Mount Calvary, where Jesus was crucified (803–14). Though Calvary is represented in mediæval tradition as a burial ground<sup>5</sup> and a place of execution,<sup>6</sup> no earlier author identifies it with the Field of Blood.

(4) The Jews ask the smith to make them three nails with which to crucify Jesus, but the smith replies he has had leprosy in his hands for a long time. They oblige him to show his hands, and by God's grace they are diseased. Thereupon his evil wife declares that she will make the nails herself, and forges three great nails and gives them to the Jews (1227–60).

Though this story does not appear earlier than the French *Passion* it is probable that it depended upon some existing tradition. Pierre Bercheur

<sup>1</sup> John xiii. 26 : “ Respondit Jesus : Ille est, cui ego intinctum panem porrexero. Et cum intinxisset panem, dedit Iudee Simonis Iscariotae.”

<sup>2</sup> Harl. 2253, fol. 28a.

<sup>3</sup> cf. Roy, p. 29\*, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> The tradition is in a formative stage in the sermon on the Passion of British Museum Royal MS. 7. B. VII. fol. 285a : “ Nonne ego te vidi in orto cum illo quum cepimus eum. ymmo tu es ille qui amputavit auriculam cognato meo malco.”

<sup>5</sup> Ambrosius, *Epistola LXII. cl. II.* (*Patres Quarti Ecclesiae saeculi* (ed. Caillau), Sanctus Ambrosius VII. p. 200) : “ Golgotha . . . Ibi Adae sepulchrum; ut illum mortuum in sua cruce resuscitaret. Ubi ergo in Adam mors omnium, ibi in Christo omnium resurrectio.”

<sup>6</sup> *Historia Scholastica* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 198, col. 1629) “ quia ibi decollabant rei.”

(1290–1362) appears to refer to it under the heading *Christi Passio*: “Christum . . . nudum super crucem extenderunt, et ibi cum clavis grossis et male formatis et non per fabrum sed per quendam ribaldum factis conclauauerunt. Dic si vis de clavis quomodo fuerunt facti et sic cum cruce sursum erexerunt.”<sup>1</sup>

To sum up,—the French *Passion* is compiled from the Gospels, supplemented by legends from Peter Comestor, Johannes Beleth, the mystical works of Bernard of Clairvaux, and the vernacular Bible of Herman of Valenciennes, besides a few legendary incidents which the poet probably drew from unidentified sources.

#### § 4. Supplementary Sources of the Northern Passion.

Although the *Northern Passion* is in the main based on the French *Passion*, as a comparison of their main outlines and their legendary incidents clearly shows,<sup>2</sup> nevertheless in matters of detail many changes were introduced. The Scriptural material was added to and rearranged, some of the legends were further developed or were replaced by others, and a few apocryphal incidents which had become popular in the course of the century that had elapsed since the composition of the French *Passion*, were inserted. In the early part, the poet followed the French text with comparatively few changes. Up to the trial before Pilate (v. 811) the alterations are confined to the insertion of the Entry into Jerusalem<sup>3</sup> and some details in the Council of the Jews<sup>4</sup>; two shifts in position,

<sup>1</sup> *Opera Omnia* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1731), I, p. 340. The masculine gender of *quendam*, *ribaldum* makes it uncertain whether the reference is to the smith's wife. Roy (p. 34\*) sees here an alternative tradition to the story of the *Passion*.

<sup>2</sup> The corresponding lines of the French poem and *Northern Passion* are as follows:

		French <i>Passion</i> .	Northern <i>Passion</i> .
I. Introduction	.	1–12	1–14
II. Council of the Jews	.	13–33	43–57
III. [Entry into Jerusalem]	.	—	58–92
IV. Supper at Simon the Leper's	.	34–116	93–144
V. Bargain of Judas	.	117–140	145–172
VI. Last Supper	.	141–355	173–424
VII. Gethsemane	.	356–526	423–604
VIII. Trial before Caiaphas and Denial of Peter	.	527–758	605–810
IX. Death of Judas and First Trial before Pilate	.	759–848	811–954
X. Trial before Herod	.	849–900	955–1006
XI. Second Trial before Pilate	.	901–1178	1007–1284
XII. Legend of the Cross	.	1179–1226	1285–1438
XIII. Forging of the Nails	.	1227–1260	1439–1502
XIV. Road to Calvary and Crucifixion	.	1261–1474	1503–1808
XV. Harrowing of Hell	.	1475–1482	1809–1828
XVI. Longinus and the Entombment	.	1483–1560	1829–1914
XVII. Setting of the Guard	.	1561–1590	1915–1968
XVIII. Resurrection	.	1591–1594	1969–1976
XIX. [Appearance to Mary Magdalene]	.	—	1977–2000
XX. [Bribing of the Guard]	.	—	2001–2078
XXI. [Conclusion]	.	—	2079–2090

<sup>3</sup> 58–90 from Mt. xxi, 1–8; Lu. xix, 29–36.

<sup>4</sup> 21–42, John xi, 47–51, 53.

the one of Caiaphas' examination of Jesus<sup>1</sup> (John xviii, 19–23), the other of John's sleep and vision<sup>2</sup>; and finally the repetition of Christ's charge to Peter<sup>3</sup> and of the Mocking by the Jews.<sup>4</sup> In the second half of the poem, however, the English author handled his material much more freely : he rearranged the Trial before Pilate,<sup>5</sup> giving a version much further from the Bible than that of the French, he altered the end of the poem by adding a brief account of Christ's Appearance to Mary<sup>6</sup> and the Bribing of the Guards<sup>7</sup>; furthermore, he inserted a fresh description of the crucifixion,<sup>8</sup> omitted a part of the dialogue of Mary at the Cross,<sup>9</sup> and added a new speech of Christ from the cross.

The authors used by the English poet in making these changes are in part those already drawn upon by the French author. The *Dialogus Beatae Mariæ et Anselmi de Passione Domini*, for example, supplied the harrowing details of the crucifixion<sup>10</sup>:

Nudaverunt Jesum unicum filium meum totaliter vestibus suis. . . . Post hoc deposuerunt crucem super terram et eum desuper extenderunt, et incutiebant primo unum clavum adeo spissum quod tunc sanguis non potuit emanare; ita vulnus clavo replebatur. Acceperunt postea funes et traxerunt aliud brachium filii mei Jésu, et clavum secundum ei incusserunt. Postea pedes funibus traxerunt, et clavum acutissimum incutiebant, et adeo tensus fuit ut omnia ossa sua et membra apparerent, ita ut impleretur illud Psalmi *Dinumeraverunt omnia ossa mea* (Ps. xxi. 18). . . . Post haec erexerunt eum cum magno labore.<sup>11</sup>

The following speech of Christ on the cross :

he sayde ȝe that by the waye passe  
habydys and by halde now my face  
and lukis ȝif þat any passiowne or pyne  
May ben bitterere thane es myne  
The haly writyng says naye  
No pyne to his euynede be maye  
Ne none oþir myghtful kynge  
Moughte suffire my paynes no thyngē :

(Ad 1757–64)

based on Lamentations i. 12 was first connected with the Passion by Pascharius Radbertus (ninth century),<sup>12</sup> but this, as well as the following passage, is probably borrowed by the English poet from Bernard's *Meditatio in Passionem* :

<sup>1</sup> 745–82, following the Denial of Peter. cf. above, p. 59, n. 4, for the order of the French.

<sup>2</sup> 271–94, following the Denunciation of the Traitor instead of occurring at the beginning of the Last Supper (French *Pass.*, 176–82).

<sup>3</sup> Luke xxii, 32, "Confirma fratres tuos"; *North. Pass.*, 327–8 and 509–10.

<sup>4</sup> *North. Pass.*, 677–80 and 799–804.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 811–1284.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 1977–2000.

<sup>7</sup> 2001–78 (from Matt. xxviii, 11–15).

<sup>8</sup> 1599–1646.

<sup>9</sup> French *Pass.*, 1357–80.

<sup>10</sup> 1599–1646; on the description of the Crucifixion, see Roy, pp. 91\* ff., 231.

<sup>11</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 159, col. 282–3, cited by Roy (p. 231).

<sup>12</sup> *Expositio in Lamentationes*, Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 120, col. 1084.

Passio Domini celebratur, et nos voluptati operam damus. Clamat nobis de cruce : *O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite, et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus* : et nemo est qui audiat, nemo qui consoletur, nemo qui respondeat.<sup>1</sup>

A further addition in the account of the crucifixion is the following passage :

On the rude was noght so mykylle leuyd  
Wharto he myght lene hys hevyd  
Bot lenyd it to hys scholdyrr bone  
ffor merey of hym had þai none.

(1637-40)

The basis of this is, of course, Luke ix. 58 : “ Vulpes foveas habent, et volucres caeli nidos : Filius autem hominis non habet ubi caput reclinet.” The verse appears to have been first used in connection with the story of the Passion by Bernard in a passage punning on *Calvaria* and *calvus* :

Vide si non calvus est et noster Elisaeus. *Filius*, inquit, *hominis non habet ubi caput suum reclinet*. Ecce quam calvus est qui non habet ubi caput reclinet.<sup>2</sup>

The *Southern Passion* (c. 1250) also uses this verse

A uox him mai fynde a sti : & a turtle a nest also  
Whar on sitte & walewy : & peron reste perto  
And ihesus nis an vrþe noȝt : so moche god billeud  
Wher-vpe he mowe enes : reste his weri heued<sup>3</sup>

In spite of the common rhyme *heued* : *leuid*, this is probably not the source of the *Northern Passion*, for the latter is nearer to Bernard than the *Southern Passion* in omitting the rendering of “ Vulpes foveas habent, et volucres caeli nidos.”

The Story of the Cross as it occurs in the *Northern Passion* is constructed by adding to the outline of the story in the French Passion, details from the Latin *Legend*<sup>4</sup> beginning “ Post peccatum Adae,” and from other sources. The outline common to the French and English is as follows :

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 184, col. 744. The passage also occurs in Pierre Bercheur's *Repertorium* (ed. 1631), I, p. 340; the French *Passion* of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS., 405, fol. 380; *A Song of Love-Longing for Jesus* (*Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, E. E. T. S. 117, p. 456), vv. 173-6; *Testamentum Christi* (E. E. T. S. 117, p. 644); a poem printed by Horstmann (*Yorkshire Writers*, II, 457), beginning “ Bides a while and haldes ȝoure pais.”

<sup>2</sup> *Meditatio in Passionem*, Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 184, col. 752. The verse is also cited with the Passion in Pierre Bercheur's *Repertorium* (ed. 1631), I, p. 442 : “ Pendet, non iacet, nec habet vbi caput reclinet.”

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Language Notes*, XXVI, p. 17. The passage also occurs in the Sermon on the Passion of British Museum Royal MS. 7. B. VII, fol. 273b; the French *Passion* of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 405, fol. 375, *An A B C Poem on the Passion of Christ (Political, Religious and Love Poems* (E. E. T. S. 15, 1903, p. 275), *A Disputation between Mary and the Cross* (E. E. T. S. 117, p. 614), *Testamentum Christi* (E. E. T. S. 117, p. 651).

<sup>4</sup> Meyer (*Abhandl. der bayerischen Akademie, phil.-hist. Klasse XVI*, 1881), pp. 131 ff.

David found a branch (three branches in the English) which came from the forbidden tree in Paradise, and planted it. The tree which grew therefrom could not be fitted into Solomon's temple. It lay in a pool of water till the time of the Crucifixion.

To this outline furnished by the French *Passion*, the English poet added the following details :

1. David found three rods (1299), not one. This detail might be taken from the *Legend*,<sup>1</sup> or from some Cross Story of the Rood Tree group described by Professor Napier.<sup>2</sup>

2. vv. 1329–1330 :

þritti wintir al bi dene  
þe leues werin euchon grene

are from *Legend*

Illae steterunt ibi uenuste a domino plantatae usque ad annos XXX.<sup>3</sup>

3. While the tree lay in the pool, God sent down an angel every day to stir the waters. The first sick man bathing therein after his departure was cured (1387–1408).

This incident occurs in most versions of the Cross Story from the *Historia*<sup>4</sup> to the *Legend*. The account of the latter is as follows :

Nolens ergo dominus lignum ipsum illustratione carere, unaquaque die inter tertiam et sextam horam descendit angelus in piscinam et mouebatur aqua, et qui prior descendisset in aquam sanus fiebat a quacunque infirmitate detineretur.<sup>5</sup>

4. Along with the legend of three branches, a tradition that the cross was composed of four kinds of wood is introduced :

The three branches which David found were cypress, palm and olive. He grafted them on a cedar tree (1300–2, 1321–6). The upright of the Cross was made of the cypress, because of its fragrance, the cross-bar was of olive because its brightness might be seen at a distance, the block in the earth was cedar which would not rot (1423–32), and the inscription was written on palm (1653–1655) to symbolize the peace which Pilate expected from Jesus' death (1667–76).

The four woods and their distribution in the cross are described in an old verse quoted by Gretser :<sup>6</sup>

Quatuor ex lignis Domini crux dicitur esse :  
Pes crucis est cedrus, corpus tenet alta cypressus,  
Palma manus retinet, titulo laetatur oliva.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> § 17, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> Meyer, p. 143, § 20.

<sup>6</sup> *De Cruce* (*Opera Omnia*, Ratisbon, 1734), I. 7.

<sup>7</sup> The same tradition occurs in Ludolphus de Saxonia, *Vita Iesu Christi* (ed. 1865, p. 655).

<sup>2</sup> E. E. T. S. 103, pp. xxxv, ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 107.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* § 25, p. 147.

Bernard of Clairvaux in his *Vitis Mystica*<sup>1</sup> names the same four kinds of wood, but assigns them to different positions in the cross. The tradition used by the English poet, which I have not been able to find in earlier literature, appears in the travels of Sir John Mandeville (c. 1371) thus :

Et sachez qe la croiz Nostre Seignur fuist de quatre manere de boys, si come cest vers deuise, *In cruce sunt palma, cedrus, cipressus, oliua.* La piece qaloit tot droit de la terre iusekes a mont vers le chief estoit de cipres; et celle qaloit de transvers, a quoi les mayns estoient claeuez, estoit de palmer; et li trunc dessouz, qestoit fichez dedeinz la roche, en quoi il y auoit vne morteise pur tenir le pie de la croiz, estoit de cedre; et la table, qestoit sur la teste, quauoit pie et demy de long, en quoi ly titre estoit escript en ebree, en griece et en latin, estoit de oliue. Et firent les Iuys la croiz de ceo quatre manere de boys a certes qar ils quidoient qe nostre Seignur duist la demorer tout pendant tant come le corps purroit durer. Et pur ceo firent ils le pie de cedre; qar cedre ne porroit point, nen terre nen eawe. Et ils voleient qil durast longement. Apres ils pensoient qe le corps nostre Seignur duist porrer et puer. Et pur ceo firent ils le thytre de la croiz de cipres, qest bien odorant, au fyn qe la flaour de son corps ne greuast les trespassantz. Et ly trauersyn fuist fait de palme, pur ceo qen veil testament, quant ascun auoit victorie, homme le coronoit de palme. Et pur ceo qils quidoient auoir uenu Ihesu Crist, ils le firent de cel boys. Et la table de la titre ils firent de oliue; qar oliue signifie peeze, si come lestoire de Noe tesmoigne, quant la columbe porta la raim de oliue, q signifioit peeze estre fait entre Dieu et homme. Et auxi les Iuys quidoient lors auoir peeze apres la mort nostre Seignur, qar ils disoient qil auoit mis descord entre eux.<sup>2</sup>

The same tradition occurs in *Ly Myreur des histors* by Jean d'Outremeuse.<sup>3</sup> The *Northern Passion* differs from the two French works only in transposing the olive and palm, and in interpreting the palm as an emblem of the peace Pilate expects. Since, however, the palm is a well-known emblem of victory and the olive of peace, the version of Mandeville and Jean d'Outremeuse probably represents the original from which the *Northern Passion* departed.

<sup>1</sup> De quatuor enim generibus arborum facta fuisse refertur : de cyprosso, de cedro, de oliva, de palmis. Cypressus in profundo, cedrus in longo, oliva in alto, palma in lato. Unde dicit Apostolus : *Ut possimus comprehendere cum omnibus sanctis, quae sit latitudo, longitudo, sublimitas et profundum* (Ephes. iii, 18) . . . Cypressus enim timorem sive humilitatem significat, ubi est radix crucis, per quam non solum situs humiliis, sed natura ejus exprimitur : quia, ut dicitur, fugat odore serpentes, id est diabulos, quorum proprius character superbia ab humilitatis virtute fugatur. Cedrus arbor longitudine praestans aliis arboribus, longitudinem crucis, id est, perseverantiam significat, sive patientiam . . . Oliva vero arbor oleum effundens, per quam misericordiae opera significantur, charitatem significat, quae arbor bene latitudinem habet crucis : quia lata est charitas, quae etiam ad inimicos extendi praecepitur. Palma porro arbor, victoriam significans, altitudinem crucis optime significat spem de supernis habendam, non ad infima deprimendam. (Migne, Patr. Lat. 184, col. 732-3.)

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Roxburghe Club, 1889, pp. 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> *Corps des Chroniques Liégeoises*, ed. Bruxelles, 1864, I. p. 411.

The most peculiar feature of the Cross story in the *Northern Passion* is the omission of Sibilla's prophecy, a feature which occurs in almost all versions from the *Historia*<sup>1</sup> to the *Legend*<sup>2</sup>. After being rejected from the temple, the tree is used for a bridge,<sup>3</sup> as in Beleth<sup>4</sup> and the *Legenda Aurea*<sup>5</sup>, but its transfer to the *Probatica Piscina*, which in Beleth and the Legend is caused by Sibilla's Prophecy, is thus related :

Sone to þe watir grounde  
Hit sanc in a litil stounde.

(1383-4)

Clearly, the Cross Story of the *Northern Passion* is a mere patchwork which, while combining incongruous legends, yet omits the interesting figure of the Sybil. This form of the Cross Legend never became popular in Middle English, and even in MSS. of the *Passion* itself, a more extended story is twice substituted. The scribe of G<sub>5</sub> in the second half of the fourteenth century, inserted a new version of the cross story,<sup>6</sup> based on the Latin *Legend*,<sup>7</sup> as the presence of the withered pathway,<sup>8</sup> the Maximilla incident,<sup>9</sup> etc., shows;<sup>10</sup> but the *Legend* is shorn of many details, e. g. the three visions of Seth at the gate of Paradise,<sup>11</sup> the circles of silver which David placed about the tree,<sup>12</sup> etc. In the midst of the story of the *Legend*, certain verses from the original Cross Story of the *Northern Passion* have been inserted. The clumsiness of the editing may be seen in the following extract, where the insertion of vv. 1337-8 is particularly awkward :

190*	And dauid passyd furthe fro þis lyffynd And went furthe at goddys bydying	
192*	þan salomon was aftir hym kyng And gowarnd hym wysely withouten fandynge And endyd þe tempyll þat begun was And made it vppe in two and thyrty ȝhere space	
196*	Foure manir of trees some sayse þare ware At war gedird to gidir þan þare Of cedir was þe first rute þar on growyd our allir bute	1321 1322 1323 1324
200*	Cypresse and þe palme tre þe ferith was olyue I tell þe And when þe tempill was nere vppe broght Of a tre þai had grete thought	1325 1326 1343 1344

<sup>1</sup> Meyer, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* § 27, p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> 1379-82.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Graesse, 1850, p. 304.

<sup>6</sup> 140/1\*-145/299\*.

<sup>7</sup> Meyer, pp. 131 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 133-4, § 4.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 145-6, § 24.

<sup>10</sup> One detail (from the *Vitae Adae et Evaen* n. 27) is the sending of Eve with Seth to Paradise (*Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie*, XIV, phil.-hist. Klasse, p. 233, § 36).

<sup>11</sup> Meyer, pp. 132-3, §§ 3-4.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 143, § 20.

204*	Some þai ȝhede vnto þe kyng And tald to hym of þair myssyng Salomon dauid son of age ffor þi here bare þat herytage	1345 1346 1337 1338
208*	Still he satt als he ne roght And of a tre he hym be thoght ffor in hys orcherd þat tre it growe, etc. <sup>1</sup>	1347 1348 1349

In **Ad** and the MS. from which it was copied,<sup>2</sup> the Cross story of the *Northern Passion* was discarded and a version of Meyer's *Legend* substituted.<sup>3</sup> Since the Latin text of the *Legend* is easily accessible,<sup>4</sup> it is not printed here. Though, for the most part, the story of **Ad** follows the *Legend*, including the prologue on Cain and Abel<sup>5</sup> which is not present in all MSS. of the Latin, it has peculiar features not found in other versions.

(1) The instrument with which Cain slew Abel was the jaw-bone of an ass,<sup>6</sup> as in *Cursor Mundi*:

wid þ(e) cheke bon of ane asse  
Men say þat abel slain wasse.<sup>7</sup>

(2) In Seth's third vision at Paradise, Abel's soul sits on the tree in joy,<sup>8</sup> while the *Legend* states that the roots of the tree reached into Hell, where Abel's soul was seen.<sup>9</sup>

(3) The story of Moses<sup>10</sup> is expanded by details from the Bible.<sup>11</sup>

(4) In the time of Elisha, the Syrian Naaman was cured in the *Probatica Piscina*.<sup>12</sup>

(5) The pool of Siloam (**Ad** Seclatyn) was a place of execution.<sup>13</sup> The only hint of this I can find elsewhere is the statement of Lu. xiii, 4: "Sicut illi decem

<sup>1</sup> The insertions are,

G 1	G 5
1321-6	144/196*-201*
1337-8	144/206*-207*
1343-6	144/202*-205*
1347-72	144/208*-145/233*
1375-8	145/236*-239*

<sup>2</sup> That the long Cross story of **Ad** was not introduced by Thornton, the scribe, is shown by the dialect. Not only does the body of the insertion offer Midland forms, but the lines of transition between the *Passion* proper and the Cross story contain one form with O.E. *a* giving *ā*, i. e. *none* 146/4\*.

<sup>3</sup> 146/1\*-167/685\*.

<sup>4</sup> *Abh. der bayr. Ak. XVI*, pp. 131 ff.; Herrig's *Archiv*, LXXIX, pp. 465-9.

<sup>5</sup> Meyer, pp. 131-2, §§ 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> 147/67\*-68\*.

<sup>7</sup> Göttingen MS. 1073-4. For a discussion of this legend see O. F. Emerson, *Legends of Cain* (*Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXI, 1906), p. 859.

<sup>8</sup> 151/117\*-121\*.

<sup>9</sup> Meyer, p. 136, § 8.

<sup>10</sup> 154/201\*-157/326\*.

<sup>11</sup> 154/201\*-216\* from Exod. ii; 155/233\*-238\* from Exod. xv; 155/245\*-250\* from Exod. xii.

<sup>12</sup> 165/598\*-605\*, cf. 2 Kings v.

<sup>13</sup> 166/614\*-615\*, 620\*-621\*.

et octo, supra quos cecidit turris in Siloe, et occidit eos; putatis quia et ipsi debitores fuerint praeter omnes homines habitantes in Jerusalem?"

(6) The motive of the Jews in making the tree a bridge is a double one; the desire to destroy its miracle-working power<sup>1</sup> as in the *Legend*,<sup>2</sup> and a more mischievous purpose:

ffor þat pore mene soldē mys fare  
that went þer one with feete bare.

(166/618\*-619\*)

The long Story of the Cross is not the only addition to the *Passion* in this MS.: two other legends, the Wandering Jew and the Vernacle are also inserted.

Already in C, an earlier MS. related to Ad,<sup>3</sup> the Wandering Jew is mentioned by the name of John Puttedieu, as a person who saw the details of Christ's suffering,<sup>4</sup> but the legend of his punishment is not related. In Ad, on the other hand, the story is briefly told:

þit lyues a mane it es ferlike  
that Ihesu saughe bothe dede & qwike  
John putte-dieu was his name  
he did his lorde Mekih' shame  
he putt Ihesu with his hande  
& saide traytoure ga forthe here sall þou not stande  
& Ihesu torned hym þane agayne  
& bad stand þou stiȝt in snawe and rayne  
& in oþir wedirs calde and harde  
Tiȝt pat I come ogayne warde.

(1520a-1520j)

The Wandering Jew,<sup>5</sup> first mentioned by Roger of Wendover (d. 1237),<sup>6</sup> appears under several names: Cartaphilus,<sup>7</sup> Johannes Buttadæus,<sup>8</sup> Giovanni

<sup>1</sup> 166/622\*-623\*.

<sup>2</sup> Meyer, pp. 147-8, § 26.

<sup>3</sup> See above, iv, § 2.

<sup>4</sup> vv. 1598a-1598j, see below, p. 73, *Variants and Fragments*, No. 1.

<sup>5</sup> On the Legend, see S. Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages* (London, 1881), pp. 1-31; M. S. Morpurgo, *L'Ebreo errante in Italia* (Florence, 1891); G. Paris in *Journal des Savants* (1891), pp. 541-56; L. Neubaur, *Die Sage vom ewigen Juden untersucht* (Leipzig, 1893); Crampon, *Le Juif-Errant* (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, des Lettres et des Arts d'Amiens*, XL, 1893, pp. 189-243).

<sup>6</sup> *Flores Historiarum* (ed. Rolls Series, 1887), II, pp. 352-5, under the year 1228.

<sup>7</sup> Roger of Wendover as above; Matthew of Paris (d. 1259), *Chronica Majora* (ed. Rolls Series, 1876), III, 161-4. In *Chronique rimée de Philippe Mouskes* (publiée par le Baron de Reiffenberg, Bruxelles, 1838, II, pp. 491-4) the Jew is not named.

<sup>8</sup> Guidonis Bonati Foroliviensis Mathematici de Astronomia tractatus, X (ed. Basle, 1550), p. 209; Liber terre sancte Jerusalem (MS. Evreux 36, fourteenth century), quoted by Paris, *Journal des Savants* (1891), p. 546; Sigismondo Tizzio of Sienna, quoted by Morpurgo, pp. 7-8, by d'Ancona, *Romania*, X, 213, and by Paris, p. 542.

Boutadeo<sup>1</sup> or Jean Boutedieu,<sup>2</sup> and, in the sixteenth century, Ahasverus.<sup>3</sup> The name John Puttedieu (1520c) of **C** and **Ad** came from France, but the nearest parallel to the story of **Ad** is in the narrative of the Italian Guido Bonatti, a contemporary of Dante,<sup>4</sup> who in treating of long-lived men, writes :

Et dicebatur tunc quod erat quidam alias qui fuerat tempore Iesu Christi, et uocabatur Ioannes Buttadaeus, eo quod impulisset Dominum quando ducebatur ad patibulum, et ipse dixit ei, Tu expectabis me donec uenero, . . . Et ille Ioannes transiuit per Forliuim uadens ad sanctum Iacobum aera Christi millesima ducentesima sexagesima septima.<sup>5</sup>

The references to Jean Boutedieu in French literature show that the story was well known in France, and it was probably from a French version similar to the Italian quoted above that the English story was taken. The insertions in **C**, a fourteenth-century MS., and in **Ad**, a fifteenth-century MS., are interesting as the only references which have been found to the Wandering Jew in England between the thirteenth-century chroniclers and the seventeenth century.

The story of the Vernacle<sup>6</sup> is as follows : As the maiden Sydonye is carrying a cloth she has made to market, she meets Jesus stooping under the cross. She says he cured her of blindness<sup>7</sup> and begs for some of his grace. At his command she lays on his face the cloth she is carrying, which straightway takes the print of his face. By its means she works many miracles, and finally takes it to Rome, and gives it to the Pope. It is called the Vernacle, and whoever will go to Rome may still see it.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cecco Angiolieri (a contemporary of Dante) in a sonnet cited by Morpurgo, p. 9; *Viaggio in Terra Santa fatto e descritto da Ser Mariano da Siena nel secolo XV* (1431), Florence 1822 p. 29, quoted by Morpurgo, p. 7; a fifteenth-century narrative quoted by Morpurgo, pp. 15 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 1250-55, Philippe de Novare, *Livre de forme de Plait (Assises de Jerusalem)*, I, 570 quoted by Paris, p. 543; a fifteenth-century Provençal Mystery of the Passion names Botadieu among the characters (Bib. Nat. nouv. acq. fr. 6252), quoted by Paris, p. 544; cf. also the Breton popular song cited by Champfleury (*Histoire de l'Imagerie populaire*, Paris, 1869, pp. 82-8).

<sup>3</sup> *Kurze Beschreibung und Erzählung von einem Juden mit namen Ahasverus, gedruckt zu Leyden, anno 1602*, and most later accounts.

<sup>4</sup> *Inferno*, XX 118.

<sup>5</sup> Guidonis Bonati Foroliviensis Mathematici de Astronomia tractatus X, (ed. Basle, 1550), p. 209. Quoted by d'Ancona, *Romania*, X, 214; Morpurgo, p. 6; Neubaur, p. 111; Paris, p. 542.

<sup>6</sup> See Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder, Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur*, XVIII), especially chap. vi, Die Veronica-Legende.

<sup>7</sup> The bearer of the Vernacle is at an early date represented as the woman cured of an issue of blood (Mt. ix, 20-22, Mk. v, 25-34; Lu. viii, 43-8; see Dobschütz, pp. 210-11). That she was cured of blindness does not appear in the legends, but in the *Passion of Autun* (see below, p. 74, n. 3) the mother of the maiden of the cloth is cured of blindness by the touch of the holy kerchief.

<sup>8</sup> **Ad** 180/1\*-181/54\*.

The very common legend of the Vernacle is thus told by Roger of Argenteuil :<sup>1</sup>

Sire, il a en Jerusalem une sainte fame qui a non la Veronique, qui a un grant cuevrechief ou l'image de nostre seignor Jhesucrist est pourtrete, quar il avint, si com li faus Juis menoient nostre seigneur Jhesu crucefier, et li fesoient porter la croiz sus ses espaules, et il suoit si durement que l'eve et la sueur li degoutoit forment du visage a terre contreval, lors passa cele sainte fame par devant lui qui portoit ce cuevrechief vendre au marchié; et quant ele vit nostre seignor Jhesuchrist si mal mener et si suer, si en ot deul et pitié, et li souvint de ce qu'il l'avoit garie el temple de Jerusalem d'une fievre qui l'avoit tenue moult longuement; si desvelopa cel cuevrechief et li tendi, et puis li dist : "Sire tenez cest cuevrechief, si en essuiez vostre visage;" et lors Nostre Sires prist le cuevrechief, et en essuia son visage, et tantost, par la vertu de Deu, li visages de nostre seignor Jhesucrist i fut ausi pourtret et ausi aparanz comme se il fust corporex en char et en os. Lors il li rendi arieres son cuevrechief, et li dist et commanda que ele le gardast bien, quar il avroit encore mestier a mainz malades garir; et lors cele sainte fame en aporta arieres son cuevrechief, et quant ele fu venue en sa meson, ele le toucha a son seignor qui gesoit en langor, et il fu tantost queriz, et moult d'autres malades, par l'atouchement de ce saint cuevrechief.<sup>2</sup>

The name Sydonye, which is not found in the versions cited by Dobschütz, comes from a confusion with the story of Sidonie,<sup>3</sup> who is said to have made Jesus' grave-cloth and sold it to Joseph of Arimathea.<sup>4</sup>

### *§ 5. Sources of the Expanded Version.*

The author of the expanded version increased the poem by over a thousand lines. The sources of his additions are in part works already used in the original version; for example, the Bible and Peter Comestor; but, unlike the author of

<sup>1</sup> Bible en françois (c. 1300). See P. Meyer, *Notices et extraits*, XXXIII. 1 (1890), pp. 71-5.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Dobschütz, pp. 304\*-305\*.

<sup>3</sup> The Legends of Sydonye and Veronica have much in common, and are actually fused in the *Passion of Autun* (fourteenth century, see *Romania*, XXIV, 86, and Roy, *Mystère de la Passion*, pp. 41\* ff.): Veronica, a poor woman, sends her daughter to sell cloth. One of the guards cuts it in two; with one piece he wipes Jesus' face, which imprints itself on the cloth, with the other he makes a girdle for the crucified. When the first piece is placed on the mother's eyes she is cured (Roy, p. 43\*). Notice also that in the *Passion* copied at Semur (Roy, p. 146) Veronica is forced to sell her cloth. Moreover, Sepp (*Das Leben Christi*, Regensburg, V, 139) reports a tradition that the grave-cloth was imprinted with the picture of Christ's body.

<sup>4</sup> Bible of Geoffroi de Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 1526 ff. 120a-122b; Arsenal 3527, fol. 194a; MS. Montpellier 350 (*Rev. des Lang. Rom.* XXVIII, pp. 239-40); Fitzwilliams MS. 20 ff. 31a-33b (cf. James's Catalogue, pp. 35-6), Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 9588, ff. 94a-96b, and cf. Roy, p. 39\*. The story of Sidonye also occurs in the Wynkyn de Worde print of the English *Gospel of Nicodemus* (1509), see Hulme (E. E. T. S. Extra Series, C. pp. lviii-lx) and the further references to the legend which he gives.

the original poem, this poet has borrowed also from vernacular literature. Portions of the Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus* are incorporated into his poem, while the Cross Legend and the account of Mary's sufferings which he used may have been borrowed from English sources.

The Bible is used by the reviser chiefly to supplement the account already present in the original version, which, being a translation of a translation, often departs widely from the text of the Vulgate. The reviser shows, by his alterations, not only an acquaintance with the Bible, but also a desire to make his poem harmonize with it. A few quotations will make this clear.

1. Matt. xxvi. 29. "Dico autem vobis, non bibam amodo de hoc genimine vitis, usque in diem illum cum illud bibam vobiscum novum in regno Patris mei."

With ȝow sall I ete no more  
Tyll þat I hafe bene wyde whare  
þare agayn may noman stryfe  
ffor I sall sone be broght of lyfe

(G<sub>5</sub> 239-42)

With ȝow now sall I ett no mare  
Vntill I haue bene wide whare,  
Ne of þis drink I sall noght taste  
Till I have walked waies waste,  
· And till I drink with ȝow ful euyn  
In þe kingdom of my fader in heuyn,  
(H 239-42b)

2. Luke xxiii, 39-41. Unus autem de his, qui pendebant, latronibus, blasphemabat eum dicens: Si tu es Christus, salvum fac temetipsum, et nos. Respondens autem alter, increpabat eum, dicens: Neque tu times Deum, quod in eadem damnatione es? Et nos quidem juste nam digna factis recipimus; hic vero nihil mali gessit.

þai hyngid ihesu two thefis by  
To do hym schame þai war redy  
þe to thefe began to cry  
Salue vs lord nowe or we dy  
þe toþyr thefe sayd onone  
Helpe of hym here gettis þou none  
Howe nowe myght he helpe þe  
þis ded hym selfe he may noght flee  
He spak and cryed tyll god mercy  
And to his felowe he sayd hym by  
I wene he sayd þat þou be wode  
þis man did noght neuir bot gude, etc.

(G<sub>5</sub> 1691-1702)

þan of þe theues þat hang him by,  
þe tone of þam bigan to cry  
And þus he said vnto ihesus;  
"Lord, þou sauе þi self and vs,  
Sen we er all samin in þis stede,  
Sauë vs þat we be noght dede."  
þe toþer blamed him for his saw  
And said: "oure self may clerely knaw  
þat we bath er wele worthy  
ffor oure dedis here forto dy,  
And for oure werkes withouten drede  
Hider er we broght to haue oure mede.  
And þis man þat es hider broght  
In word ne werk he trispast noght," etc.  
(H 1691-1702)

Not only is the Bible used to fill in the details of incidents, but its influence is also discernible in the arrangement of part of the Trial before

Pilate,<sup>1</sup> as well as in the position of Christ's Thirst on the Cross<sup>2</sup> and of the Centurion's Testimony.<sup>3</sup> In general, then, the amplified version is much nearer the Bible than the original poem.

The additional details about Judas might be taken from either the *Legenda Aurea* or *Historia Scholastica*: Judas held the money bags and stole one-tenth of all the treasure that came to the twelve; he sold Jesus for thirty pieces to make up for one-tenth the price of Mary's ointment which he considered he had lost (19/1\*-21/46\*).

Portabat enim loculos et ea, quae Christo dabantur, furabatur. Dolens vero tempore dominicae passionis, quod unguentum, quod trecentos denarios valebat, non fuerat venditum, ut illos etiam denarios furaretur, abiit et dominum XXX denariis vendidit . . . vel (ut quidam ajunt) omnium, quae pro Christo dabantur, decimam partem furabatur et ideo pro decima parte, quam in unguento amiserat, scilicet pro XXX denariis, dominum vendidit.<sup>4</sup>

The detail about Judas's wife :

In litel purses euer he stale  
þe tende of paire tresore bi tale,  
þat broght he euer vnto his wife;  
þus curstedly he led his life,

(20/25\*-28\*)

is from the *Historia Scholastica*.

Habebat enim vxorem et filios, sicut scriptum est de eo: "Fiant filii ejus orphani, et uxor ejus vidua etc." (Ps. cviii) Vxori ergo et filiis dabat quae furabatur.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The rendering of John xix, 4-8, which in the *Northern Passion* is confused with other matter and transferred to a later point, is in the revised version restored to its proper place. The parallels with the Vulgate are as follows:

Original Pass.	Revised Pass.	Vulgate.
1192-1216	1192-1216	Jo. xix, 1-3
	1216a-1216f	Jo. xix, 4
1217-1218	1217-1218	Jo. xix, 5
	1218a-1218x	Jo. xix, 6-8
1219-1244	1219-1244	Jo. xix, 9-12x
	1244a-1244g	Jo. xix, 13
1245-1248	1245-1248	Jo. xix, 14-15a
1252-1258		Jo. xix, 7
1259-1260		Jo. xix, 6
1261-1264		Jo. xviii, 31
1265 ff.	1265 ff.	Jo. xix, 15b ff.

<sup>2</sup> In the original poem, John xix, 28-30 (1719-30) precedes John xix, 25-27 (1731-54). The revised version gives John xix, 28-30 following v. 1764.

<sup>3</sup> The words of the Centurion (1829-40), which are separated from Christ's death by the Harrowing of Hell (1809-28) in the original poem, are in the amplified version placed immediately after Christ's death (1808a-1808i) as in Luke xxiii, 47 and vv. 1829 ff. are altered to a recapitulation of the Centurion's words.

<sup>4</sup> *Legenda Aurea* (ed. Graesse), pp. 185-6.

<sup>5</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 198, col. 1598.

When Judas hanged himself, his body burst open to let out his soul. The soul could not pass by his mouth which had kissed Christ (862a–862f).

. . . abiens laqueo se suspendit et suspensus crepuit medius et diffusa sunt omnia viscera ejus. In hoc autem delatum est ori, ne per os effundederetur non enim dignum erat, ut os tam viliter inquinaretur, quod tam gloriosum os scilicet Christi contigerat.<sup>1</sup>

The Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus*,<sup>2</sup> as Horstmann pointed out,<sup>3</sup> furnished the expanded version with the story of the imprisonment and release of Joseph, and also with some details of the Burial. Though the earlier poem is in stanzas of alternate rhyme,<sup>4</sup> the editor has preserved many of the original rhymes in his couplets, as in the following passages :

*Gospel of Nicodemus.*

þan come a knyght of þam þat woke  
Ihesus in þe monument :  
“ þat body þat yhe vs bitoke  
Es rySEN and fro vs went ;  
(793–6)

þe mykell stane þat lay  
His rysyng forto lett  
þat aungell put oway  
And þarepon him sett.  
(801–4)

When he was layd in graue,  
We keped him, als yhe wate ;  
Schortly lorne him we haue,  
He es rySEN & gane his gate.

And als wele wate we yhisterday  
How Ioseph presond was,  
And how yhe keped him vnder kay  
ffor þat he suld noght pas ;  
(825–32)

*Northern Passion.*

“ þe body þat ȝe vs bitoke  
Es resin out of þe monument,

And at his will he es furth went ;

þe mekill stane þat on him lay,  
Ane angell putted it oway  
And þaropon him self he set,  
All men on liue might him noght let ;  
(2052–8)

And by him self ful wele we wate

Resen he es and gan his gate ;

And als we wate wele ȝesterday

How ȝe kepid ioseph vnder kay

(244/21\*–24\*)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Legenda Aurea* (ed. Graesse), p. 186, see also *Historia Scholastica* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 198), col. 1650.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by W. H. Hulme, E. E. T. S. Extra Series C. (1907).

<sup>3</sup> Herrig's *Archiv*, LVII, pp. 78–83.

<sup>4</sup> The other parallels noted by Horstmann are the following : *Harrowing of Hell* (Harley 39, N.P. 1810; *Harrowing of Hell*, 237–8, N.P. 1819–20).

*Gosp. of Nic.*

687

724

771

775

*Northern Passion.*

1846d

1896l

1920k–1920l

1920o

*Gosp. of Nic.*

829–832

785

759

*Northern Passion.*

242/11\*–12\*

244/23\*–24\*

242/13\*

242/15\*

The *Gospel of Nicodemus* was also used by the reviser of the *Northern Passion* in a passage not quoted by Horstmann, *i. e.* the episode of the Devil and Pilate's Wife (1061 ff.). In the original version Pilate's wife says a beast from Hell appeared to her (1098),<sup>1</sup> but the reviser followed the *Gospel of Nicodemus* in making Satan take the form of an angel.<sup>2</sup>

On þe nyght als ane aungell  
He appered to Pilate wife;  
“vnto þi lord þou tell  
He lett noght ihesu lyf.”  
(*Gosp. of Nic.* 189–92)

Als ane angell he went bi night  
Preuely to proue his might,  
And forto sauе so ihesus life  
He went vnto sir pilat wife  
(H 1071–4).

The voluminous literature on Mary's sufferings, represented in Latin by Bernard's *Liber de Passione Christi*,<sup>3</sup> Pseudo-Anselm's *Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini*,<sup>4</sup> Bonaventura's *Meditationes Vitae Christi*,<sup>5</sup> and Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Iesu Christi*,<sup>6</sup> and in English by translations and adaptations of these<sup>7</sup> as well as by the complaints,<sup>8</sup> contributed towards the expanded version details which are for the most part literary commonplaces. Mary's meeting with Jesus on the road to Calvary<sup>9</sup> is related in the Dialogue attributed to St. Anselm :

Cum autem educeretur filius meus principalis, cum duobus sceleratis extra portam civitatis, cum ingenti pressura irruentis populi et insultantis, volui eam sequi et videre, sed non potui prae maxima multitudine populi, quae ad opprobrium filii mei convenerat. Sed tandem cum Maria Magdalena deliberavi quod per viam adjacentis plateae circa quendam fontem circuiremus, quatenus illi obviaremus. Et cum venissemus juxta fontem, obvium habuimus meum filium deformatum, pressum omni dolore; qui benigne inclinabat se ad me, ac si diceret, Grates tibi refero, etc.<sup>10</sup>

<i>Gosp. of Nic.</i>	<i>Northern Passion.</i>	<i>Gosp. of Nic.</i>	<i>Northern Passion.</i>
778–780	242/17*–18*	819	244/15*
788	242/22*	823	244/17*
1069	243/29*–30*	841–845	245/39*–42*
790–792	243/34*–36*	850–852	245/45*–46*
811–812	2059–2060	853–855	2066c–2066d
813–815	243/3*–4*	858–860	2068a–2068b
817–818	244/11*–12*	862–864	2070a–2070b

vv. 1904, 2027, which Horstmann notes as parallel to *Gospel of Nicodemus* 722 and 828, reproduce the phraseology of the original version of the *Northern Passion* and are not significant of the influence of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vv. 1103 and 1108, where the beast is also mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> vv. 1103 and 1108 are altered in the revised version so that the beast is not mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 182, col. 1133.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 159, col. 271–90.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Venice, 1512, fol. 43b.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Paris and Rome, 1865.

<sup>7</sup> e. g. Richard Rolle's *Meditations on the Passion* (Horstmann, “Yorkshire Writers,” I, 83); “Lamentatio St. Bernardi de compassione Mariae” (*Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* E. E. T. S. 98), p. 301, etc.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Taylor, *Moder Philology*, IV, 605 ff.; Thien, *Über die englischen Marien klagen* (Kiel, 1902).

<sup>9</sup> 177/1\*–179/40\*.

<sup>10</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 159, col. 282.

Mary's fear that the Jews will break Jesus' legs as they did those of the two thieves<sup>1</sup> is in Bonaventura's *Meditationes*:

Redeuntibus ipsis versus dominum iesum timens mater ne simile facerent filio tacta dolore maximo cordis intrinsecus cogitauit ad arma sua recurrere. scilicet humilitatem sibi innatam & genibus positis & manibus canzelatis vultu lachrymabili & voce rauca sic omnes alloquitur dicens. . . . Joannes vero Magdalena & sorores stabant genuflexe cum ea & amarissime omnes flebant. . . .<sup>2</sup>

The Virgin's grief at the act of Longinus<sup>3</sup> is described by Pseudo-Anselm thus:

Cumque hoc viderem, quod tales crudelitatem in jam mortuum exercerent, et exanimis facta fui, et tunc vere impleta est prophetia Simeonis, etc.<sup>4</sup>

Mary's trust that Jesus will rise again, twice mentioned in the expanded version,<sup>5</sup> is not usually stressed in accounts of the sorrows of Mary; it is found in Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, Lib. VII, ch. 23:

Ambrosius super Lucam. Fugientibus apostolis: maria ante crucem stabat: & piis spectabat oculis filii vulnera. spectabat non pignoris mortem set mundi salutem.<sup>6</sup>

Though the reviser may have collected these details on Mary's sufferings from different books, he more probably found them combined in some earlier work, perhaps, as his use of the vernacular *Gospel of Nicodemus* suggests, in an English poem.

The Cross Story of the expanded version is composed quite independently of the original poem: the story is drawn from the Latin *Legend*,<sup>7</sup> to which are added details from the Latin *Vita Adae et Eva*.<sup>8</sup> From the latter are taken the sickness of Adam, the account of the Fall,<sup>9</sup> the angel's promise to Seth at the gate of Paradise<sup>10</sup> and the burial of Adam.<sup>11</sup> The remainder of the story is fairly close to the *Legend*; the variations from it are usually omissions, e. g. the second vision of Seth at the gate of Paradise,<sup>12</sup> the words of God to Moses,<sup>13</sup> speech of the men whom David healed,<sup>14</sup> the lights and guards by the rods in the cistern,<sup>14</sup> David's speech of praise at finding the rods rooted,<sup>15</sup> and also the names

<sup>1</sup> 1864c-1864d.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Venice, 1512, p. 43b.

<sup>3</sup> 1880c-1880f.

<sup>4</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 159, col. 286.

<sup>5</sup> 1840k-1840r, 1896m-1896p.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Venice 1494, p. 75; see also *Cursor Mundi*, 17067-74; "Patris sapientia sive horae de cruce" (*Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* I, 41-42); "Lamentatio St. Bernard de compassione Mariae" (*Ibid.* p. 301).

<sup>7</sup> Meyer, *Abh. der bayr. Ak. XVI*, p. 131 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Meyer, *Abh. der bayr. Ak. XIV*, p. 187 ff.

<sup>9</sup> 146/1\*-148/86\*, 148/91\*-106\*; *Vita*, §§ 30-5.

<sup>10</sup> 149/168\*-150/218\*, *Vita*, §§ 41-2.

<sup>11</sup> 153/349\*-154/372\*, *Vita*, §§ 46-8.

<sup>12</sup> *Legend*, § 8.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* § 16.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* § 18.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* § 19.

of the four rivers in Paradise,<sup>1</sup> of the pool in which the tree was thrown<sup>2</sup> and of the water over which it was a bridge.<sup>3</sup> The combination of the *Legend* and the *Vita* was, however, probably not made by the author of the expanded version, but adapted from some Middle English poem. For a number of parallels with the *Cursor Mundi* occur in the Cross Story :

sone he sayde .I. sal þe say,  
How-gate þou sal take þi way.  
“ þat gresse sal teyche þe þi gate.  
riȝt to paradise ȝate.”<sup>4</sup>

þe quilest þai in þat wode ware  
þer wandis ay wiþ him bare.<sup>6</sup>

þer þai had mykil water wane.  
moises on þe harde stane.<sup>8</sup>

Vn-to þat ilk sted þou pass,  
Quar moyses him doluen was;<sup>10</sup>

þai went ham forþ bi þe strete.  
and foure sarasinis con þai mete.<sup>12</sup>

ȝe sal finde þe wandis þare.  
atte moyses ay wiþ him bare.<sup>14</sup>

“ And sun,” he said, “ I sall þe say  
Wharby þou soll ken þe way:  
þou soll sone find a grene gate  
Euyn vnto paradis ȝate; ”<sup>5</sup>

And als a relik obout þam bare,  
With wirschip als þai worthy ware:<sup>7</sup>

We sall gett water grete wane  
Here out of þis hard stane.<sup>9</sup>

þus when dauid warned was  
Till araby sone gan he pas,<sup>11</sup>

And als þai went so by þe strete,  
Seke men many gan þai mete.<sup>13</sup>

þe same lenkith ȝet war þai þare,  
Als moyses in desert þam bare;<sup>15</sup>

Now since parallels with the *Cursor Mundi* are not characteristic of other parts of the expanded version, and since in one case the reviser certainly borrowed from vernacular literature, it is quite possible that here too he was using an English poem which is responsible for the parallels with the *Cursor Mundi*.

<sup>1</sup> *Legend*, § 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* § 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Cursor Mundi* (Fairfax MS.) 1249–50, 1263–4.

<sup>6</sup> *Cursor Mundi* (Fairfax MS.), 6345–6.

<sup>8</sup> *Cursor Mundi* (Fairfax MS.), 6389–90.

<sup>10</sup> *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton MS.), 7997–8.

<sup>12</sup> *Cursor Mundi* (Fairfax MS.), 8071–2.

<sup>14</sup> *Cursor Mundi* (Fairfax MS.), 8005–6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* § 26.

<sup>5</sup> *Passion*, 149/139\*–142\*.

<sup>7</sup> *Passion*, 156/429\*–439\*.

<sup>9</sup> *Passion*, 156/447\*–448\*.

<sup>11</sup> *Passion*, 158/491\*–492\*.

<sup>13</sup> *Passion*, 158/511\*–512\*.

<sup>15</sup> *Passion*, 159/545\*–546\*.

## CHAPTER VI

## THE NORTHERN PASSION AND THE DRAMA

THE *Northern Passion* was a text easily accessible to English playwrights. Not only was it copied frequently, as is shown by the number of extant MSS., but in its expanded form it found a place in the *Northern Homily Collection*, and thus became part of the regular course of sermons delivered from parish pulpits.<sup>1</sup> This use must have been particularly frequent in the North of England where the great cycles arose, but it also extended to the East Midland district,<sup>2</sup> the home of the Hegge plays. Moreover, the *Passion* was the more readily adaptable to the purposes of the playwright from its introduction of a large proportion of direct discourse.<sup>3</sup> This semi-dramatic character was already present in the Old French original, called by Roy<sup>4</sup> *Le Passion des Jongleurs*, which had contributed much toward the French drama. A playwright, therefore, in search of material for a Passion Play in English rhyme, could not well overlook the *Northern Passion*. Of the extant cycles, Chester shows no influence of the *Passion*: but York used it in its more Northern or expanded form, while the more Southern Hegge and Towneley borrowed from the original more Southern version. The three cycles may best be discussed separately.

§ 1. *The York Plays.*

Several of the York plays dealing with the Crucifixion and the events of Passion week, show direct dependence upon the *Northern Passion*. Before proceeding to consider the character and extent of this dependence, it may be remarked that the use of English as well as Latin sources has already been established in the case of certain plays of this cycle. As long ago as 1885, Lucy Toulmin Smith<sup>5</sup> called attention to their relation to the *Cursor Mundi*. Recently a more extensive use of English sources has been disclosed. Mr. Craigie<sup>6</sup> has shown that the *Gospel of Nicodemus* material was taken from the Middle English metrical version rather than from the Latin; and Taylor<sup>7</sup> has pointed out the occurrence in the plays of certain themes borrowed from vernacular lyrics.

<sup>1</sup> See Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, n. F., p. xxvii.

<sup>2</sup> The dialect of I and R shows East Midland characteristics. See above, III, §§ 8, 11.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Judas's soliloquy (148–52), The trial before Herod (959–1006), The colloquy between Simon of Cyrene and the Jews (1561–80), and the guard at the tomb (1955–66, 2021–48).

<sup>4</sup> *Le Mystère de la Passion en France*, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> *York Plays*, Oxford, 1885, p. xliv ff.

<sup>6</sup> *The Gospel of Nicodemus and the York Mystery Plays* ("An English Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall," Oxford, 1901), pp. 52–61. <sup>7</sup> *Modern Philology*, V, 18–22, 35–8.

The agreements in content between the plays and the *Passion* are of three kinds: (1) a general similarity in outline due to their common scriptural basis;<sup>1</sup> (2) agreement in incidents<sup>2</sup> which, though non-Biblical, are drawn from the great store of mediæval tradition common to many writers; (3) agreement in incidents, small in themselves, which are found nowhere else in Middle English, and either rarely or not at all in Latin and French. Agreements of the first class are, of course, without significance for our purpose; those of the second, while not sufficient in themselves to prove influence of the *Passion*, are valuable as confirmatory evidence; those of the third class, however, are of the highest importance and must be considered in detail. In addition to these agreements in content, one finds a series of passages in which the influence of the *Passion* upon the plays is discernible even in the phrasing. These parallels of phrase are of importance, not only in confirming the evidence offered by the incidents, but also in enabling us to determine which form of the *Passion* was used by the playwrights. For, while the incidents might have been drawn from either the original or the expanded *Passion*, the parallels of phrasing clearly indicate use of the expanded version.

Taking up the evidence in detail, we have first to consider those incidents which are significant of relation of the plays to the *Passion*. They are five in number :—

1. In the strife of the disciples as to which shall rule, Jesus brings a little

<sup>1</sup> The general similarity in outline can be seen from the following table :—

<i>North. Pass.</i>	<i>York Plays.</i>
Conspiracy of the Jews.	Entry into Jerusalem.
Entry into Jerusalem.	Conspiracy of the Jews.
Supper at Simon's and Bargain of Judas.	Bargain of Judas.
Last Supper.	Last Supper.
Agony in the Garden and Capture.	Agony in the Garden and Capture.
Trial before Caiaphas and Peter's Denial.	Peter's Denial and Trial before Caiaphas.
Remorse of Judas.	
First Trial before Pilate.	Dream of Pilate's Wife and first Trial before Pilate.
Trial before Herod.	Trial before Herod.
Second Trial before Pilate and Dream of Pilate's Wife.	Remorse of Judas.
Crucifixion.	Second Trial before Pilate.
Harrowing of Hell.	Crucifixion.
Burial.	Burial.
Setting of the guard at the Tomb.	Harrowing of Hell.
Jesus and Mary Magdalene.	Setting of the Guard at the Tomb.
Fright of the Jews.	The Three Maries at the Tomb.
	Fright of the Jews.
	Jesus and Mary Magdalene.

<sup>2</sup> Judas's Reason for selling Jesus (*North. Pass.* 19/1\*—21/46; \* *York*, xxvi, 127–54); The Devil and Pilate's Wife (*North. Pass.* 1061–1108; *York*, xxx, 159–96); the Tortures at the Crucifixion (*North. Pass.* 1601–46m.; *York*, xxxv. 1–248); Longinus (*North. Pas.* 1869–88b; *York*, xxxvi, 291–312); Harrowing of Hell (*North. Pass.* 1809–26b; *York*, xxxvii).

child before them as an example of humility.<sup>1</sup> The Biblical account of the Last Supper<sup>2</sup> has no mention of a child, but the York plays and the *Passion* agree in combining with the strife of the disciples at the Last Supper, an earlier strife,<sup>3</sup> where Jesus used a little child as an example.

2. The third man to whom Peter denies Jesus is Malcus, the soldier whose ear Peter had cut off in Gethsemane.<sup>4</sup> The Bible says merely: "unus ex servis pontificis, cognatus ejus, cuius abscedit Petrus auriculam"<sup>5</sup>; York and the *Passion* add vividness to the scene by identifying this unnamed soldier with Malcus.

3. Judas's thirty pieces are destined by the Jews for the purchase of a field wherein they may bury pilgrims.<sup>6</sup> In the *Northern Passion* they buy Mount Calvary and call it the Field of Blood.<sup>7</sup> In York a squire wishes to pledge his field called Mount Calvary for thirty pence, whereupon the Jews rob him of his deeds and call the field the Place of Blood.<sup>8</sup> The *Passion*, it will be observed, contains merely the germ of the York play, and if the identification of Mount Calvary with the Field of Blood were a commonplace in mediæval literature, we should hardly recognize a parallel here. But since this identification occurs elsewhere only in the French *Passion* and the French works dependent upon it, the *Northern Passion* is clearly the source of the play.

4. Jesus' prayer for his tormentors corresponding to the Biblical "Pater, dimitte illis: non enim sciunt quid faciunt,"<sup>9</sup> is transferred from its scriptural position immediately after Christ is hung on the Cross, and combined with His last speech.<sup>10</sup> The playwright's repetition of this prayer, which in accordance with the arrangement of Luke had been uttered once before in this scene,<sup>11</sup> shows that he was here following the *Passion* and not rearranging the Bible independently.

5. The helplessness of three of the soldiers who discover the empty tomb, is contrasted with the bold resolve of the fourth to tell Pilate the truth.<sup>12</sup> In the *Northern Passion* the three lament their carelessness and counsel flight<sup>13</sup>; in York they wish to tell Pilate that the body was stolen by force.

The above parallels of incident are for the most part unaccompanied by resemblances in phrasing; the playwright handled his material freely, and clothed the incidents which he borrowed in his own language. In the following passages, however, the plays show the influence of the phraseology of the *Passion*.

<sup>1</sup> *North. Pass.* 297-308; *York*, xxvii, 73-89. <sup>2</sup> *Luke* xxii, 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Luke* ix, 46-8 and *Mark* ix, 35-7. <sup>4</sup> *North. Pass.* 715-26; *York*, xxix, 135 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *John* xviii, 26; the Fairfax MS. of the *Cursor Mundi* (second half of the fourteenth century) also identified this soldier with Malcus (E. E. T. S. ed. 15927. 30).

<sup>6</sup> *North. Pass.* 879-84; *York*, xxxii, 332-7. <sup>7</sup> *North. Pass.* 885-900b.

<sup>8</sup> *York*, xxxii, 338-72.

<sup>9</sup> *Luke* xxiii, 34.

<sup>10</sup> *North. Pass.* 1800-1804d; *York*, xxxvi, 252-6. <sup>11</sup> *York*, xxxv, 259-64.

<sup>12</sup> *North. Pass.* 2021-47; *York*, xxxviii, 288-346.

<sup>13</sup> This incident also occurs in the Resurrection poem of Ashmole 61 (Herrig's *Archiv*, lxxix, pp. 441 ff.), which, as is shown below (see p. 95, n. 2), is closely related to the *Northern Passion*.

*Northern Passion (Harl. MS.).*

þat es inogh, vs nedes no mare. (422)

And athes vnto þam he sware  
þat he saw ihesu neuere are. (707-8)

þarfore I pray ȝow lattes him pas,  
And here ȝowre mone als it was.  
(834a-834b)

Mercy of crist wald he nane craue,  
ffor whi he hopid nane forto haue.  
(825-6)

“ bere it sal he  
þat þar on suld hanged be.”  
(1515-16)

And þis grete birþin þat he beres  
To gang with all mekill him deres.  
(1567-8)

A man es here omanges vs led  
þat wery es and all for bled. (1563-4)

Symon saw it was no bote  
Ogaynes so many forto mote. (1581-2)

þat oþer failed a fute and mare.  
(1610)

Sunder went both sins and vaine,  
To fele þat was a ferly paine.  
(1620a-1620b)

And als, “ lamaȝabathany ; ”  
“ My lord, my god, my fader fre,  
Whi hastou forsaken me ? ”  
(1788, 1791-2)

*Introduction.**York Plays.*

Itt is i-nowe, ȝe nedis no moo.  
(XXVII, 178)

But I saye as I firste saide,  
I sauwe him neuere are. (XXIX, 131)

Why will ye þanne noȝt latte hym  
passe,  
And haue of me agayne youre paie ?  
(XXXII, 189-90)

Me thare aske no mercy, for none mon  
y gete. (XXXII, 302)

Be my feithe bere it schall hee  
þat þer-on hanged sone schall bee.  
(XXXIV, 100-1)

It nedis noȝt harde to harle  
Sen it dose hym slike dere.  
I se here comes a karle,  
Shall helpe hym for to bere.  
(XXXIV, 227-30)

Loo, here a ladde þat muste be ledde  
For his ille dedis to dye;  
And he is brosid and all for bledde.  
(XXXIV, 242-4)

It helpis noȝt here to striue,  
Bere it be-houes me nede.  
(XXXIV, 289-90)

It failis a foote and more.  
(XXXV, 107)

Ther cordis haue evill encressed his  
paynes,  
Or he wer tille ȝe booryngis brought.  
ȝaa, assoundir are both synuous and  
veynis.  
(XXXV, 145-7).

My God, my God, full free,  
Lamaȝabathanye,  
Whar-to for-soke þou me,  
In care ?  
(XXXVI, 213-17)

*Northern Passion (Harl. MS.).*

“ Drink,” þai said, “ for no thing  
spare.”

(1724a)

Vnder þe cros þai gert him stand,  
And gaf him a scharp spere in hand,  
þe poynþ þai set to ihesu side,  
And bad him put fra him þat tide.

(1873-6)

Thurgh my might wele I may  
Rise fra ded on þe thrid day.

(1929-30)

And so, sir, war þe latter dede  
Wele more þan þe first to drede.

(1941-2)

Anoþer said: “ What es ;owre rede ?  
þare es no bute bot we be dede.”

(2033-4)

We wend none oþer men had wist  
On what wise we iosep mist.

(245/49\*-50\*)

And luke þe say whare so þe ga  
þat þe cors es stollen ȝow fra.

(2065-6)

“ Luke þat ye say vnto al men  
On þis wise, als we ȝow ken,  
þat armed men with mekil might  
Come vnto þe graue on night,  
Sudanly als ȝe slepeand lay  
And stale þe cors fra ȝow away.

(2066e-2068b)

*York Plays.*

A draughte here of drinke haue I  
dreste,  
To sped for no spence þat ȝe spare.

(XXXVI, 240-1)

þis spere, loo, haue halde in thy hande,  
To Jesu þou rake fourthe I rede,  
And sted nouȝt but stiffly þou stande  
A stounde.

In Jesu side  
Schoffe it þis tide.

(XXXVI, 292-7)

For Iesu saide even opynly  
A thyng þat greues all þis Jury,  
And riȝte so may,—  
þat he schulde rise vppe bodily  
With-in þe thirde day.

(XXXVIII, 134-8)

His lattar deede is more to drede  
þan is the firste, if we take hede.

(XXXVIII, 140-1)

Why, canne none of vs no bettir rede ?  
þer is not ellis, but we be dede.

(XXXVIII, 311-12)

3one knyghtis behoues þere wordis  
agayne call  
Howe he is miste.  
We nolde for thyng þat myght be-fall  
þat no man wiste.

(XXXVIII, 403-6)

Comaundis youre knyghtis to saie  
wher þei goo,  
þat he was tane  
With xx<sup>ti</sup> m<sup>l</sup>. men and mo.

(XXXVIII, 409-11)

And herkenes what þat ȝe shall saie,  
To ilke aman both nyȝt and daye,  
That ten m<sup>l</sup>. men in goode araye  
Come ȝou vntill,  
With forse of armys bare hym awaye  
Agaynst your will.

(XXXVIII, 419-24)

It remains to discuss the significance of these parallels, in regard to the development of the York Cycle. According to Davidson's metrical tests,<sup>1</sup> plays, XXVII (*The Last Supper*), XXXV (*Crucifixion*), and XXXVII (*Harrowing of Hell*), form part of a parent cycle to which plays XXVIII–XXXII are later additions. Gayley<sup>2</sup> agrees with Davidson that XXVII, XXXV and XXXVII are early, but distinguishes two later playwrights, a humorous one, who wrote XXXIV and XXXVIII, and a realistic one who wrote XXVI, XXVIII–XXXII, XXXVI, remodelled XXXVII and XXXVIII, and retouched XXXIV and XXXV. Now of the plays showing the influence of the *Northern Passion*, XXVII and XXXV belong to the earliest stage recognized by Davidson and Gayley; XXXIV and the original form of XXXVIII to Gayley's humorous poet, and XXIX, XXXII, and XXXVI to the last or realistic poet. In other words, parallels with the *Passion* occur in all three stages. Two explanations are possible: either these parallels are all due to the first author, portions of whose work were incorporated by the two later poets into their plays; or all three men were familiar with the *Passion*. In view of the verbal parallels in XXXVI, which is undoubtedly late, the second explanation is probably nearer the truth. The discovery that even the earliest stage in the development of the York cycle shows the influence of the *Northern Passion* is a fact of some importance in determining the date at which these plays were composed. The version of the *Passion* used by the York playwrights was, as we have seen, the expanded version, which was probably written about the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Since, in all probability, a few years at least elapsed between the composition of the expanded *Passion* and its use by the playwrights, it seems unlikely that even the earliest stage of the York cycle can be dated earlier than 1345–50. This evidence, it will be observed, favours the date (1340–50) suggested by Lucy Toulmin Smith,<sup>4</sup> rather than "the first third of the fourteenth century," the date recently proposed by Gayley.<sup>5</sup>

### § 2. *The Towneley Plays.*

The influence of the *Northern Passion* on the Towneley cycle is, curiously enough, confined to Play XX, *The Conspiracy and Capture*.<sup>6</sup> Scholars have already recognized this play as a combination of two plays<sup>7</sup>; the first (vv. 1–313), probably based on a lost York Play, relates the Conspiracy of the Jews and the

<sup>1</sup> *English Mystery Plays*, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> *Plays of our Forefathers*, pp. 153–8.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *York Plays*, p. xlvi.

<sup>5</sup> *Plays of our Forefathers*, p. 133.

<sup>6</sup> *The Towneley Plays*, ed. by George England and Alfred W. Pollard (E. E. T. S. LXXI), pp. 204–27.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Ebert, *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur* (1859), I, p. 138. Pollard (E. E. T. S. LXXI), pp. xxvi–xxvii, and Cady in *Modern Philology*, X, 588 ff.

Bargain of Judas; the second (vv. 314–755) includes the Last Supper, the Agony in the Garden, the Preparations of the Soldiers to take Jesus, and the Arrest of Jesus. A comparison of the second part of the play with the *Northern Passion* discloses extensive verbal parallels which establish that poem as a source.

*Northern Passion.*

Sir whare wilt þou halde thi feste  
we willene gane sythene maste & leste  
Ihesu ansuerde sone on ane  
and callede to hym Petir & Iohne  
gase he saide ȝe schaȝt fynd & mete  
a man with watir in þe strete  
þe house þat he gose to with grythe  
ȝe saȝt hym folowe & gaa hyme wyth  
the lorde of þe house ȝe schaȝt fynde  
a symple mane of sely kynde  
To hym ȝe saȝt speke and saye  
I come sone in my waye

I wiȝt festene in his hauȝt  
Me and Myne discypylis aȝt.

(Ad. 177–90)

Iudas saughe þay sittene aȝt  
agayne Ihesu he gane downe faȝt  
þat he moughte with hym ete  
his tresoun ne wolde ne noghte forgete  
he stale owte of his lordis dysche  
þe beste Morseȝe of his fysche.  
(Ad. 209–14)

Or þe cokke thrise sall crawe  
þow sall forsake me in a thrawe  
(409–10)

Petyr fore soth I telle it þe  
Bot if þi fete wessch be  
Thou getys no parte of my blys.  
Petyr seyd þat wyll I not mys  
Petyr seyd And oȝyr mo  
That parte wyll we not fore go  
Wessch fete & hendys we pray the.  
(A. 348a–345)

Iudas has slepyd neuer a dele  
(498)

*Towneley XX.*

Sir, where wiȝt ye youre pask ette ?  
Say vs, let vs dight youre mete.  
Go furth, Iohȝn and peter, to yond cyte ;  
when ye com ther, ye shaȝt then se  
In the strete, as tyte, a man  
bering water in a can ;  
The house that he gose to grith,  
ye shaȝt folow and go hym with ;  
The lord of that house ye shaȝt fynde,  
A sympyȝt man of cely kynde ;  
To hym ye shaȝt speke, and say  
That I com here by the way ;  
Say I pray hym, if his wiȝt be,  
A lytyȝt whyle to ese me,  
That I and my dyscypyls aȝt  
myght rest a whyle in his haȝt.  
(314–29)

*Tunc comedent, & Iudas porrigit manum in discum cum Ihesu.*

Iudas, what̄ menys thou ?  
No thyng, lord, bot̄ ett̄ with you.  
(352–3)

Peter, thou shaȝt thryse apon a thraw  
fforsake me, or the cok craw.  
(380–1)

Bot I the wesh, thou mon mys  
parte with me in heuens blys.  
Nay, lord, or I that̄ forgo,  
wesh heede, handys, and feytt also.  
(392–5)

Iudas wakys, and sleyps not̄ he. (654)

*Northern Passion.*

Ryse vppe all for my sake  
I se þaime come þat wyll me take.

(501-2)

tok þe ere þat was of schorn.

(I. 584)

Ihesus sayd þe bynd me here  
Als I war a thefis fere  
Tyll me þe do mykyll vnryght  
þus to fare wyth me by nyght.

(591-4)

*Towneley XX.*

Bot' com furth, peter, and tary no  
langere;  
lo, where thay com that wiþ me take!  
(658-9)

Take me thi ere that he of share.  
(690)

ve knyghtys that be commen now here,  
thus assemblyd in a rowte,  
As I were thefe, or thefys fere,  
with wepyns com ye me abowte;  
Methynk, for sothe, ye do full y<sup>H</sup>  
thus for to seke me in the nyght.  
(700-5)

The play on the Capture is written in couplets,<sup>1</sup> quatrains<sup>2</sup> and thirteen-line stanzas.<sup>3</sup> According to the theory recently put forward by F. W. Cady,<sup>4</sup> the couplets are due to an editor writing at a later date than the author of the *Secunda Pastorum*, and the quatrains by a still later editor. Since the parallels with the *Passion* occur both in the quatrains and in the couplets, but not elsewhere, it is clear that all the parallels are due to one or the other of Cady's two editors. Moreover, the influence of the *Passion* throws some light on the complicated structure of this play. The editor who wrote in couplets appears to have arranged the events of the Last Supper in this order: the Washing of the Disciples' Feet (350-1, 384-407), Eucharist, Denunciation of Judas (vv. 352-73); Prophecy of Peter's Denial (vv. 374-83), and there the play ended. This play<sup>5</sup> was afterwards revised by an editor who rewrote the end in order to combine it with a play on the *Capture* which followed. In accordance with the order of the Gospel of John<sup>6</sup> (XIII, 1 ff.), he rearranged the Last Supper, placing the Foot-washing after the Supper, not before; but in the process of rearrangement, the Institution of

<sup>1</sup> vv. 314-407.<sup>2</sup> vv. 408-599, 652-755.<sup>3</sup> vv. 600-51.<sup>4</sup> *The Couplets and Quatrains in the Towneley Mystery Plays* (*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, X, 1911), 572-584.<sup>5</sup> Cady (*op. cit.*, 577-8) notes that the account of the washing of the disciples' feet has been split into two parts, the second of which is placed after the Prophecy of Peter's Denial.<sup>6</sup> It is not probable that a play on the Last Supper could have originally lacked the institution of the Eucharist. Though in our text of the York Plays, it is not present, it probably occupied part of the leaf lost between vv. 89 and 90 (p. 236).<sup>7</sup> The Agony and Capture of Jesus is a play separate from the Last Supper in York (XXVII and XXVIII), in the early stage of the Hegge Plays (Prologue, ed. *Shakespeare Society*, 1841, pp. 11-12) in the Beverley cycle (see Chambers, II, pp. 340-1) and in the Hereford cycle (Chambers II, p. 369).<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 59, note 2.

the Eucharist, which had immediately succeeded the Foot-washing, was omitted. The editor then began writing a passage to connect the Last Supper with the Agony in the Garden, and, following the order of the *Northern Passion*,<sup>1</sup> wrote the Prophecy of Peter's Denial after the Foot-washing, not noticing that it was already narrated in the couplets closely preceding it.<sup>2</sup> If this explanation be the true one, the writer of the couplets, who borrowed extensively the phraseology of the *Northern Passion*, has followed its order less than the author of the quatrains has done, though the latter used only scattered bits of the phrasing of the *Passion*.

### § 3. *The Hegge Plays.*

Investigation of the Hegge Cycle,<sup>3</sup> or *Ludus Coventriae*, has hitherto been directed for the most part to fixing the place of its origin, and determining whether the players who presented it were craftsmen or monks.<sup>4</sup> But apart from these external matters, the cycle offers many difficulties and inconsistencies. The *dramatis personae* are in part Biblical and legendary characters,<sup>5</sup> in part personified abstractions;<sup>6</sup> the meter varies from dimeters in eight-line stanzas,<sup>7</sup> to quatrains with sixteen or seventeen syllables in a line;<sup>8</sup> the stage directions are partly in English, partly in Latin;<sup>9</sup> the whole cycle according to the Prologue<sup>10</sup> was given at one time, but according to the speech of Contemplation<sup>11</sup> part of the plays were presented in one year, and part in the following year; finally, even in such a simple matter as the division of the cycle into plays, the MS. is so confused that Halliwell and Chambers have found it necessary to divide the cycle differently.<sup>12</sup> These inconsistencies and others which might be

<sup>1</sup> vv. 329–410.

<sup>2</sup> Three prophecies of Peter's denial, each one from a different Gospel, are not unusual in the Harmonies (see for example Clement of Llanthony, British Museum, Royal MS 3. A. X. fol. 17). Even in the York Plays, the prophecy occurs twice, once (XXVII, 116–39) according to Luke xxii, 31–4, and again in a later play (XXVII, 129–52) according to Matthew xxvi, 31–5. The peculiar point of Townley, however, is that in two passages scarcely fifty lines apart, the story is told according to Matthew.

<sup>3</sup> *Ludus Coventriae*, ed. by J. O. Halliwell, *Shakespeare Society*, London, 1841.

<sup>4</sup> For a summary of the discussion see Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, II, 419–22; and cf. Gayley, *Plays of our Forefathers* (London, 1908), pp. 135–9, and Hemingway, "English Nativity Plays" (*Yale Studies in English*, 38, New York, 1909), pp. xxviii–xxxiii.

<sup>5</sup> Play XV, *The Birth of Christ*, for example, is acted by Joseph, Mary, a citizen, and the two mid-wives, Salome and Zelomy.

<sup>6</sup> Contemplation (VIII, IX, XI, XIII, XXIX), Mary's maidens, Meditacion, Contrysyon, Compasyon, Cleennes and Fruyssyon (IX), 4 daughters of God: Trewthe, Mercy, Ryghtwysnes and Pess (XI), Mors (XIX), Sapientia (= Christ XLI).

<sup>7</sup> See below, p. 97, n. 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Hegge*, p. 18.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 98–99.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 97, n. 6.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 290.

<sup>12</sup> Halliwell says: "In the order of the pageants, I have not regarded the speeches of the vexillators; and the divisions in the MS. being very incorrectly given, I have endeavoured to make as correct an arrangement as possible, taking the two other series of mysteries as my guide" (p. xii). The MS. division of the Plays on the Passion, as given by the number at the beginning of each play, is as follows:

cited, suggest that the cycle was not written by one author, but (as in the case of the York and the Towneley cycles) represents in its present form the work of several men writing at different periods and drawing their material from various works.

The sources hitherto pointed out for the plays dealing with the *Passion* are the Bible, Tatian's *Harmony*, the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, a Middle-English Resurrection poem, from Ashmole 61 and English lyrics.<sup>1</sup> To these must now be added, the *Northern Passion*, as will appear from the series of parallels here subjoined :<sup>2</sup>

*Northern Passion.*

Go youre wey ffast and ye shaſt mete  
A mane berynge watir In the strete.

(R. 181-2)

To hym ſe Schul speke And ſeye  
þat I com ſone in the weye

I wyſt me restyn in hys halle  
(I. 187-90)

*Hegge Plays.*

Serys, goth to Syon, and ſe xal mete

A pore man in ſympyl aray,  
Beryng watyr in the strete,

Telle hym I xal come that way.<sup>3</sup>

Good man, the prophete, oure Lord  
Jhesus,

This nyth wyl reſte wythin thin halle.

(p. 259)

26. Council of Jews and Entry into Jerusalem (Halliwell XXV and XXVI to p. 257, "Here Cryst procedyth on fote").

27. Weeping over Jerusalem and Last Supper (H. XXVI from p. 257 and XXVII).

28. Betraying of Christ (H. XXVIII to middle of p. 289). The speeches of the Doctors (pp. 288-9) are on a single folio with a blank folio before and after them.

29. King Herod, Trial before Cayphas and Denial of Peter (H. XXIX from p. 289, XXX through p. 298, "And so wyl I thynkyn from hens evyrmore").

30. Remorse of Judas, Trial before Pilate and Herod (H. XXX from p. 298).

31. Devil and Pilate's Wife, Condemnation (H. XXXI, XXXII to middle of p. 316).

32. Crucifixion (H. XXXII from p. 316).

33. Descent into Hell (H. XXXIII).

34. Burial and Setting of the Guard (H. XXXIV, XXXV through p. 343).

35. Harrowing of Hell and Resurrection (H. XXXV from p. 344).

36. Three Maries (H. XXXVI).

37. Christ's Appearance to Mary (H. XXXVII).

In Chambers' division (*The Mediaeval Stage*, II, 417-18) the Entry into Jerusalem is a separate play and the Descent into Hell is joined with the Crucifixion. Otherwise, Chambers' division of the Passion plays practically agrees with the MS. indications.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Herrig's *Archiv*, LXXIX, p. 441. See E. Falke, *Die Quellen des sog. Ludus Coventriæ* (Leipzig-Reudnitz 1908). That Tatian's *Harmony* was used in the composition of the plays is doubtful: Falke shows that details from more than one Gospel are included, but his proof that Tatian was used is not conclusive. *Hegge*, pp. 283-4, for example, which Falke (p. 70) derives from Tatian, has lines taken verbatim from the *Northern Passion*.

<sup>2</sup> In the list of parallels, phrases which are mere translations of the Vulgate are not included unless there is common rhyme, or unless the rendering of the Vulgate text seems, on comparison with the other cycles, the *Cursor Mundi*, etc., to be peculiar.

<sup>3</sup> The Towneley Plays also parallel the *Passion* at this point (see above, p. 87), but a comparison with the Towneley passage shows that Hegge is nearer the *Northern Passion*. It is also nearer the *Northern Passion* than it is the *Cursor Mundi*, which reads :

"Gas til-ward þe tun," he said,  
"A man þar yow ſal mete,  
A watrin vefsel in his hand  
O-gains yow þat ſtreſt. . . ." (E. E. T. S. ed. 15187-90).

*Northern Passion.*

I and my dyscyples alle

(I. 187-90)

Me thynke he sayse þou duse full ill  
þat lattys þis oygnement þus spyll.

(127-8)

To þe iewes I xal þe sellyn  
Al thy maystrye for to fellyn.  
(I. 149-50)

How sall we þi lord here knawe  
ffor som of vs hym neuer ȝhit sawe  
Iudas sayd thare ȝhow noght mysse  
Take ȝhe hym þat I sall kysse.  
(521-4)

þat part wyll we noght for go  
Wasche fote and hand we pray the.  
(344-5)

So schul ȝe don echon to oþere  
As eche of ȝou were otherys brother.  
(I. 363-4)

Luf and I sall gyff ȝhow to mede  
In heuen boþe clethe ȝhowe and  
fede.  
(367-68)

the tyme is comen þat I xal fulfylle  
þe prophecye for alle mannys sake  
Spekyth of deth þat I xal take  
And ȝe schul ben to day for dredre  
whan I schal be fro ȝou ledde

*Hegge Plays.*

þa! for hym and his dyscipulys alle,  
Ordeyn thu for his maunde.

(p. 260)

Lord! me thynkyth thou dost ryght ille,  
To lete this oynamet so spyllie.  
(p. 265)

My masterys power for to felle,  
I, Judas, xal asay be some encheson,  
Onto the Jewys hym for to selle.  
(p. 267)

þa ther be many that hym nevyr sowe,  
Weche we wyl sende to hym in fere;  
Therfor be a tokyn we must hym  
knowe,  
That must be prevy betwyx us here.

I xal ordeyn, so ȝe xal not mysse;  
Whan that ȝe cum hym alle abowth,  
Take the man that I xal kysse.  
(p. 269)

That part, Lord, we wyl not forgo,  
We xal abey his comawndement;  
Wasche hed and hond, we pray the so.  
(p. 277)

A memory of this have ȝe xall,  
That eche of ȝow xal do to oþyr,  
With umbyl hert submyt egal,  
Eȝe eche of ȝow were otherys brother.

Nothyng, serys, so wele plesyth me,  
Nor no lyff that man may lede,  
As thei that levyn in charyté;  
In efne I xal reward here mede.

The day is come,—I must procede  
ffor to fulfylle the prophecy;  
This nyth for me ȝe xal han drede,  
Whan noumber of pepyl xal on me  
cry.  
ffor the prophetys spoke of me,  
And seydyn of deth that I xuld  
take;  
ffro wheche deth I wole not flee,  
But for mannys synne amendys  
make.

*Northern Passion.*

þe schul faste fro me flee  
And summe of þou [for] saken me.  
(I. 374-80)

ffor I sall dy and breke þe lay  
And ryse apon þe thyrd day  
þan sall þe me seke and see  
In þe land of galyle.  
(389-92)

fior I wyll for þe paynns take  
To lygge in preson for þi sake  
And with þe wyll I take þe ded  
Sall nothyng refe me þat rede.  
(399-402)

Ryses nowe and felowys here me  
ffor here wyll we no lenger be  
Vnto a towne þai toke þair gate  
þat men calles Betany þe bate  
(423-6)

þare þe sall me all abyde  
To whyls þat I go here bysyde  
þhyt I hafe a lytill to sayn  
When [I] haf done I come agayne.  
(429-32)

My fflessche for drede it is qwakand  
(442)

þe third tyme agayne he þe hede  
Hys herand fully for to spedē.  
(487-8)

Rise vp for my sake  
And se hem cum þat wille me take.  
(F. 501-2)

Whom seke þe fast haue þe gone.  
(I. 537)

Ihesu of naȝareth we seke  
þan spake Ihesu wyth wordys meke

*Hegge Plays*

This nyth fro ȝow be led I xal,  
And ȝe for fer fro me xal fle;  
Not onys dur speke whan I ȝow calle,  
And some of ȝow forsake me.

ffor ȝow xal I dey and ryse ageyn,—  
Un the thrydde day ȝe xal me se  
Beforn ȝow all walkyng playn,  
In the lond of Galyle.

Lord, I wyl the nevyr forsake!  
Nor for no perellys fro the fle;  
I wyl rather my deth take,  
Than onys, Lord, forsake the!  
(pp. 277-8)

But all my frendys, that arn me dere,  
Late us go, the tyme drawyth ny;  
We may no lengere abydyn here,  
ffor I must walke to Betany.

*Here Jhesus goth to Betany-ward, and his dyscipulys folwyng with sad conte-nawns, Jhesus seyng.*

(p. 279)  
Petyr, with thi ffelawys here xalt  
thou abyde,  
And weche tyl I come ageyn;  
I must make my prayere here ȝou  
besyde,

My flesche qwakyth sore for fere and  
peyn.  
(p. 280)

ffadyr, the thrydde tyme I come  
ageyn,  
ffulleche myn erdon for to spedē.  
(p. 282)

Ryse up, serys, I ȝou pray!  
Onclose ȝour eyne for my sake;  
We xal walke into the way,  
And sen hem come that xul me take.  
(p. 283)

Aryse, serys, whom seke þe? fast have  
þe gon.  
(p. 284)

Jhesus of Naȝareth we seke,  
And we myth hym here aspye.

*Northern Passion.*

I seyde þou fyrsche that I am he.  
(I. 539-41)

Body and saule alle was for lorne  
allas pat euir was he borne  
his wanhope his saulle schente.  
(Ad. 863-5)

Ihesus sayd þe bynd me here  
Als I war a thefis fere  
Tyll me þe do mykyll vnryght  
þus to fare wylth me by nyght.  
(591-4)

ffor þow bryngis vppe newe lawis  
þat war nocht vsed be are dawis  
(1143-4).

In this werlde I was borne  
I come to seke þat was forlorne.  
(Ad. 1161-2)

Herode sayd welcome ihesu  
Me lykes þat I se þe now  
I thanke hym þat þe hider sent  
Now þou ert in my palasse lent  
(969-70; 973-4)

I hafe herd speke of þi ganynge  
þou has done many selcouth thyng  
þe blynd men þou makys to se  
þe dumbe to speke þe deef to here þe  
Crowsid men þou has done gone  
And wode men made hale onone  
Do now for þe luf of me  
Some myracle þat I may se.  
(983-90)

*Hegge Plays.*

I told þow now with wordys meke  
Beforn þow alle, that it was I.  
(p. 284)

Thou haddyst be bettyr a ben vnborn  
now,  
Thi body and sowle thou hast shent!  
(p. 284)

frendys, take hede þe don unryth,  
So unkendely with cordys to bynd  
me here;  
And thus to falle on me be nyth,  
As thow I were a thevys fere.  
(p. 285)

Because thou bryngyst up lawys newe,  
That in oure days were not usyd.  
(p. 300)

And in this werlde I was born;  
Be my fadyr I was hedyr sent,  
Forte seke that was forlorn.  
(p. 301)

Jhesus, thou art welcome to me;  
I kan Pylat gret thank for his  
sendyng;  
I have desyryd ful longe the to se,  
And of thi meracles to have knowyng.

It is told me thou dost many a wondyr  
thyng,  
Crokyd to gon and blynd men to sen,  
And thei that ben dede gevyst hem  
levyng,  
And makyst lepers fayre and hool to  
ben.  
These arn wondyr werkys wrought of  
the,  
Be what wey I wolde knowe the trew  
sentens.  
Now Jhesu, I pray the, lete me se  
O meracle wrought in my presens.<sup>1</sup>  
(p. 305)

<sup>1</sup> The Vulgate reads: "Herodes autem viso Jesu, gavisus est valde. erat enim cupiens ex multo tempore videre eum, eo quod audierat multa de eo, et sperabat signum aliquod videre ab eo fieri. Interrogabat autem eum multis sermonibus" (Luke xxiii, 8-9). The York Plays (XXXI, 196-217) also amplify the Vulgate account, but lay the emphasis on the Feeding of the Five Thousand and the Raising of Lazarus.

*Northern Passion.*

ffor slepand I sawe I wyll þowhe tell  
A best I wene þat come fro hell.  
(1097-8)

ffor þat best was full grisely  
I sawe neuir none so laithly  
A[nd] I was neuir ȝhit so adred  
Sithen I was of my modir fed.  
(1103-6)

Of ihesu he bad þe do pi wyll  
Whethir þow will hym safe or sypll.  
(1011-12)

he seyd to the iewes ȝe ben to blame  
þat ȝe wyten Ihesu al thys schame  
I can in hym no thyngye fynde  
where for men schulde hym bete or  
bynde. (I. 1015-18)

It es the lawe in this lande  
Of this paske þat es nere hande  
ȝif any mane be in presoune  
ffor Manslaughtir or for tresoune  
þat he owt of presone delyuirde be  
& with owttene damage he salt ga free.  
(Ad. 1021-6)

þai had in preson þan barabas  
þat bothe thefe and traytur was.  
(1049-50)

they luf þe not what seist þou  
In pes þou myȝt be for me  
But for pi folke of pi cuntre  
Bisshopes of þat law with enuye  
Thynk to do þe gret foly.  
(F. 1120-4)

what wiȝt ȝe with Ihesu doo  
Synne it es to spyȝe his blode  
ffor I ne fynd in hym bot gude  
And gude it es we latyne hym gaa.  
(Ad. 1174-7)

*Hegge Plays.*

A fend aperyd me beforne,  
As I lay in my bed slepyng fast;  
Sethyn the tyme that I was born  
Was I nevyr so sore agast ! (p. 310)

Of Herowd the kyng thou hast good  
wyl;  
And Jhesus he sendyth aȝen to the,  
And byddyth the chese hym to save or  
spylle ! (p. 311)

Serys, trewly ȝe be to blame,  
Jhesus thus to bete, dyspoyle, or  
bynde;  
Or put hym to so gret schame;  
ffor no defawth in hym I fynde.  
(p. 311)

Therfore undyrstande what I xal say,  
ȝe knowe the custom is in this londe,  
Of ȝour Pasche day that is ner honde,  
What theff or tretour be in bonde,  
For worchep of that day xal go fre  
away  
Without any price.  
(pp. 311-12)

Delyvere us the theff Barabas,  
That for mansclawth presonde was.  
(p. 312)

Jhesus, what seyst now ? lete se,  
This matere now thou undyrstonde ;  
In pes thou myth be for me,  
But for thi pepyl of thi londe,  
Bussoppys and prestys of the lawe,  
Thei love the not, as thou mayst se.  
(p. 312)

Seres, what wole ȝe now with Jhesu  
do ?  
I can fynde in hym but good !  
It is my cownce ȝe lete hym go,—  
It is rewthe to spylle his blood !  
(p. 313)

*Northern Passion.*

Apon ȝhourē fadirs soll ȝhe cry  
And on ȝhourē modirs with enuy  
ffadirs wharto whar we born  
ffor mekyll sorowe es vs befor  
Modirs wharto war we furth broght  
Vs had bene bettir to hafe bene noght.  
(1539-44)

He beres hymself þat same tre  
Wharon he soll hangid be.  
(1565-6)

Will þou nowe for oure sake  
At pis man þe rude tre take  
And bere it ȝhider þar it soll be  
full mykill thanke we will kun þe.  
(1569-72)

Off þis harlot it is scorne  
fforsakis þou to bere þe tre  
Syn we haue bidene the.  
(F. 1576-78)

lyghte now downe of þat harde tre  
kyng of Iewes ȝif þat þou be  
(Ad. 1649-50)

Pilate seyde I graunte it the  
But first I wile witen if he ded be.  
(D. 1853-4)

And late Iosep haue Al hys wyf.  
(I. 1860)

Sithyn stude þai in þat place  
And lukyd ihesu in þe face  
Wele þai saw ihesu was dede  
To breke his schankys it was no nede.  
(1865-8)

Gase and kepis als ye can  
Bothe of katell and of lyfe  
And apon land and als on wyfe.<sup>2</sup>  
(1944-6)

*Hegge Plays.*

And to here faderes, thei xul seyn,  
“ Wo  
to the tyme that thou begat me ! ”  
And to her moderes, “ Allas ! wher xal  
be oure dwellyng ? ”  
(p. 317)

A man is here thou mayst se,  
Beryth hevy of a rode,  
Where an he xal hangyd be.  
Therfore we pray alle the,  
Thou take the crosse of the man ;  
Bere it with us to Kalvarye,  
And ryth gret thank thou xalt han.  
(p. 317)

What ? harlot, hast þou skorne  
To bere the tre ? whan we the  
praye !  
(p. 318)

Heyl ! Kyng of Jewys, yf thou be.  
ȝa ! ȝa ! sere, as thou hangyst there  
flesche and bonys.  
Com now down of that tre !  
Sere Joseph of Baramathie, I graunt  
the  
With Jhesuis body do thin intent ;  
But fyrist I wole wete that he ded be.  
(p. 333)

And than lete Joseph do his wylle.  
(p. 333)

*The ij. knygtes go with Joseph to  
Jhesus, and stande and heldyn hym in  
the face,*  
Me thynkyth Jhesu is sewre anow,—  
It is no ned his bonys to breke :  
He is ded, how thinkyth ȝow ?  
(p. 334) <sup>1</sup>

In payn of ȝour godys and ȝour lyvys,  
That ȝe lete hem nowth shape ȝou fro,  
And of ȝour chyldere and ȝour wifys,  
For al ȝe lese, and ȝe do so.  
(p. 339)

<sup>1</sup> On the Longinus incident, see below, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Falke (pp. 84-85) points out that the Hegge Resurrection play drew from a Middle English Resurrection poem in Ashmole 61 (printed in Herrig's *Archiv*, LXXIX, pp. 441-7).

These parallels, it will be observed, occur throughout the whole series of plays from the Preparations for the Last Supper to the Setting of the Guards at the tomb. They consist for the most part in verbal resemblances, but at certain points,—Jesus' speech after the Last Supper,<sup>1</sup> for example,—the play follows the order of the *Northern Passion* as well as its phraseology. In this connection the incident of Longinus deserves special notice. According to the Gospel of John, the order of events is as follows: the Jews beg Pilate to have the legs of the crucified broken, Pilate sends knights, one of them pierces Jesus' side, Joseph begs Jesus' body, takes it down from the cross, etc.<sup>2</sup> In the *Northern Passion*<sup>3</sup> and the Hegge Plays,<sup>4</sup> on the other hand, Joseph begs Jesus' body of Pilate, Pilate grants the body, provided that Jesus be already dead, and sends knights to investigate; the knights force Longinus to pierce Christ's side, Joseph takes the body down, etc. In other words, the incident of Longinus follows rather than precedes the begging of Jesus' body. This parallel is the more noteworthy, inasmuch as the description of the scene in the Prologue<sup>5</sup> follows the order of John.<sup>6</sup>

In order to define the relation of the Hegge plays to the *Northern Passion*, some account must be given of the development of the cycle. The following statement is put forward as an hypothesis which, though not proven in detail, may serve to explain a part of the confusion undoubtedly present in our text of the plays.<sup>7</sup>

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the names of the four knights (Ashmole, vv. 60 ff., Hegge, p. 339) and the boasts of the four knights to Pilate (Ashmole, vv. 67 ff., Hegge, p. 339). The other passage cited by Falke (Ashmole, vv. 96–99, Hegge, p. 340) is taken by the poem almost word for word from the *Northern Passion* (1955–8). That this poem, which occurs only in a late fifteenth century MS. (see above, p. 15), is closely related to the *Northern Passion*, appears from the following parallels :

Ashmole 61.	<i>Northern Passion.</i>	Ashmole 61.	<i>Northern Passion.</i>
6–7	813–14	546–7	2039–2040
9–10	811–12	549–50	2061–2
12–13	1925–6	564–5	2047–48
34–5, 64–5	1933–4	573–4	2051–2
96–9	1955–8	576–7	2053–4
101–102	1959–60	579–80	2043–4
107–8	1967–8	582–3	2063–4
310–11	2057–8	588–9	2069–70
461–62	1999–2000	591–2	2071–2
537–8	2027–8	594–5	2073–4

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 91–92.

<sup>2</sup> John xix, 31–8.

<sup>3</sup> vv. 1841–96.

<sup>4</sup> Hegge, pp. 332–5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> The resemblance of the Longinus incident in the Hegge Play to the *Northern Passion* is noted by Dr. Peebles (*The Legend of Longinus*, p. 137).

<sup>7</sup> For a different theory as to the development of Hegge, see E. N. S. Thompson's article in *Modern Language Notes*, XXI, pp. 18–20. Mr. Thompson is, I think, mistaken in assuming that the "matere that we lefte the last zere" of Contemplacio (Hegge, p. 289) includes Plays I–XXVIII; for the summary of last year's plays that follows mentions only incidents from Plays XXVI–XXVIII.

At least three stages in the development of the cycle can be pointed out : (1) the original cycle, (2) a revision by B, and (3) a revision by C. The extant portions of the original cycle may be distinguished by two criteria : first, by the metre, which appears to have been principally an eight-line stanza rhymed *aaa<sup>4</sup>b<sup>3</sup>*, *aaa<sup>4</sup>b<sup>3</sup>*,<sup>1</sup> and a thirteen-line stanza rhymed *abababab<sup>4</sup>dddc* ;<sup>2</sup> and secondly, by the Prologue, which in its original form was probably written for this stage of the plays.<sup>3</sup> Even at this early period, however, the cycle was a composite structure, in which were embedded bits of old Christmas and Easter Plays<sup>4</sup> and perhaps vernacular lyrics,<sup>5</sup> the whole connected by stage directions in Latin.<sup>6</sup> The plays followed the Biblical narrative rather closely, for the most part, but legendary incidents were not lacking, especially in regard to the early life of Mary.<sup>7</sup> The plays on the Passion with which we are specially concerned were approximately as follows : the Entry into Jerusalem (Prologue xxiii);<sup>8</sup> the Supper with Simon the Leper;<sup>9</sup> the Last Supper and Bargain of Judas (Prologue xxiv); Agony in the Garden and Capture (Prologue xxv); Trial before Caiaphas and Denial of Peter (Prologue xxvi); Accusation before Pilate, Jesus standing at the bar with Jesmas, Dysmas, and Barabbas;<sup>10</sup> and the Putting to Bed of Pilate's Wife (Prologue xxvii);<sup>11</sup> Remorse of Judas (Prologue xxviii); Dream of Pilate's Wife and Condemnation (Prologue xxix); Crucifixion (Prologue xxx);<sup>12</sup> Inci-

<sup>1</sup> This is the stanza of the Chester Plays.

<sup>2</sup> This stanza varies in the length of the ninth line, which occurs with one, two or three accents. Davidson (*English Mystery Plays*, p. 246) speaking of the stanza with a ninth line of one accent is mistaken in saying that this stanza occurs in Plays II, XII, XVI, XXVI, XXVII, XXIX; the stanzas in these plays have no lines with less than two accents.

Other meters of the original cycle are the short-line stanza *aaabccb*, which occurs only in the Christmas and Easter Plays (*Shepherds*, pp. 159–60, *Magi*, 164–9, 171, *Innocents*, 179–83, *Resurrection*, 341–3, 348–50, 353–5), and a stanza rhymed *aabaabbcb* (*Purification of Mary*, XVIII, and *Joseph's Return*, XII).

<sup>3</sup> Chambers (*Mediæval Stage*, II, 419) is probably mistaken in considering the prologue later than the play. To cite only one piece of evidence—the arrangement in small cycles, one of the late changes made in the cycle, is not represented in the prologue. Hemingway (pp. xxxiii–xxxiv) also considers the prologue early.

<sup>4</sup> Christmas and Easter plays may have been the kernel round which the cycle grew up.

<sup>5</sup> Taylor (*Modern Philology*, IV, 624–626 and V, 29) points out lyrical themes in the plays.

<sup>6</sup> Plays with no English stage directions are I–VII, XIV–XVII, XIX–XXIV, XXXVI, XXXVIII, XLI, XLII; those having stage directions partly in Latin and partly in English are VIII–XIII, XVIII, XXX, XXXII, XXXV, XXXVII. Although Latin stage directions are not a test of the original cycle (they occur in the *Assumption*, XLI, which is certainly late), probably the English stage directions have all been introduced by B or C.

<sup>7</sup> Play X describes the Betrothal of Mary according to apocryphal sources. In XIX Mors and Diabolus appear on the stage to carry off Herod and his soldiers.

<sup>8</sup> Three stanzas preserved on pp. 252–3. The stanza of the Prologue has, perhaps, been re-written.

<sup>9</sup> The anointing of Mary (pp. 263–5) is in the stanza of the early cycle, but there is no play on the subject described in the Prologue. The combination of this incident with the Last Supper is almost certainly a late piece of editing. See below, pp. 99, n. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Hegge, pp. 314–15, which appear to correspond with the description of the Prologue.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *York*, XXX, 150–8.

<sup>12</sup> Hegge, pp. 324–8.

dent of Longinus and Descent of Christ's Soul into Hell (Prologue xxxi);<sup>1</sup> Burial, Setting of Guards and Resurrection (Prologue xxxii);<sup>2</sup> Return of Christ's Soul from Hell with ransomed Souls, Appearance to Mary (Prologue xxxiii);<sup>3</sup> the Three Maries (Prologue xxxiv);<sup>4</sup> Appearance to Mary Magdalene (Prologue xxxv).<sup>5</sup>

The reviser B, who wrote principally in quatrains and eight-line stanzas rhymed *ababbcbc*, with lines of moderate length, composed fresh plays on the events from the Entry into Jerusalem to the Crucifixion,<sup>6</sup> and rewrote the story of Longinus and the Burial.<sup>7</sup> The alterations made by him may be summarized as follows: he transferred the Bargain of Judas from its position after the Last Supper,<sup>8</sup> probably connecting it with his new play on the council of the Jews.<sup>9</sup> He also transferred the Remorse of Judas<sup>10</sup> from the midst of the trial before Pilate<sup>11</sup> to its present position before the Trial; he inserted the Trial before Herod,<sup>12</sup> he included in his new version of the Condemnation the bringing of Jesus to the bar accompanied by three Jews<sup>13</sup> which was part of the original cycle. Furthermore, B altered the arrangement of the plays that immediately succeed the death of Jesus, by transferring the incident of Longinus<sup>14</sup> to a position after Joseph had begged Jesus's body.<sup>15</sup>

C, the author of the scholastic and theological amplifications and adornments mentioned by Hemingway,<sup>16</sup> revised the cycle using quatrains and eight-line stanzas rhymed *ababbcbc*, the long lines being loaded with unstressed syllables.

<sup>1</sup> Hegge, pp. 329–30.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 340–3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 344–53; in the Prologue this pageant is numbered xxiii.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 354–7.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 360–3. Other extant portions of Hegge which belong to the original cycle are Plays I *Creation*, II *Fall*, III *Cain and Abel*, IV *Noah* (to the entrance of *Angelus* on p. 43), X *Mary's Betrothal*, XII *Joseph's Return*, XVI *Shepherds*, XVII *Magi*, XVIII *Purification*, XIX *Innocents*, XXI *Baptism*, XXII *Temptation*, XL *Descent of the Holy Ghost*, XLII *Doomsday*.

<sup>6</sup> B probably wrote the Council of the Jews in part (pp. 247–51, 262–3), re-wrote the Entry into Jerusalem, incorporating three stanzas of the original cycle (pp. 252–3: note that the first quatrain of the play occurs again on p. 256); wrote the Preparations for the Passover (pp. 259–61), Bargain of Judas (pp. 267–70), the Last Supper in part (from about p. 274), Betraying of Christ (to p. 286), and the greater part of the Trial, Condemnation, and Crucifixion (pp. 294–324. See below, pp. 99 for C's revision).

<sup>7</sup> Hegge, pp. 332–40.

<sup>8</sup> Prologue, p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> In York XXVI the Bargain of Judas follows the Council of the Jews and precedes the Last Supper.

<sup>10</sup> Hegge, p. 299.

<sup>11</sup> Prologue, p. 13. In the original cycle the Remorse of Judas was a whole play. It is uncertain whether B or C is responsible for its reduction to its present limits.

<sup>12</sup> Hegge, pp. 303–7.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* p. 314; see Prologue pp. 12–13.

<sup>14</sup> Prologue, p. 14.

<sup>15</sup> Hegge, pp. 334–5. Cf. ten Brink, *Geschichte der englischen Litteratur*, Strassburg 1893), II, 628.

<sup>16</sup> *English Nativity Plays*, p. xxxiii.

His purpose appears to have been the formation of three small cycles,<sup>1</sup> one of which might be given apart from the rest of the plays in any year. These cycles were : (1) The Early Life of Mary (Plays VIII–XIII), (2) the Last Supper and Capture (XXV–XXVIII), and (3) the Trial, Death, and Resurrection (XXIX–XXXV).<sup>2</sup> C's work on the Plays of the Passion is found chiefly at the beginning and end of these small cycles<sup>3</sup> and in the links which connect the different plays;<sup>4</sup> but beside these verses of arrangement, he added one long discourse on the Eucharist,<sup>5</sup> comparable to the Contemplation monologues of the Mary Cycle.<sup>6</sup>

Finally, the text appears to have suffered alteration at the hands of the scribe of the Cotton MS., who inserted Mary's Anointing of Jesus' feet as the first incident of the Last Supper,<sup>7</sup> and omitted the last nine lines of the two stanzas of the prologue which describe Plays XIV (Trial of Joseph and Mary) and XV

<sup>1</sup> Chambers II, 417–418.

<sup>2</sup> The end of this group is not clearly indicated. Chambers (II, 418) suggests that it ends with play XXXV.

<sup>3</sup> In the beginning of the first cycle on the Passion : Speeches of Demon and John the Baptist, and most of the dialogue of the Priests and Doctors (pp. 239–46); end of cycle (pp. 286–7); beginning of second cycle on Passion (most of pp. 288–94).

<sup>4</sup> Connecting link between Trial before Caiaphas and Trial before Pilate (pp. 298 ff.); Speech of Satan (pp. 308–9), Jesus and Women of Jerusalem (p. 317), The Centurion (p. 331).

<sup>5</sup> Hegge, pp. 270–4.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 129–30. Other passages by C in the plays on the Passion are part of the Entry into Jerusalem (pp. 253–8), Denunciation of Judas (pp. 265–67 : note that the Denunciation of Judas is related by B on pp. 274–5) and Mary beside the cross (p. 323).

<sup>7</sup> The condition of the MS. is as follows : on fol. 148b the last line is "Som wey we xal fynd þerto" (Annas' speech on p. 263), followed by the stage direction, "Here Iudas caryoth comyth into þe place ;" which is stroked through in black, as is also the catchword, "Myn hert is ryth" (see Hegge, pp. 265) written below. "Ihesus" is named as the speaker of the lines which are to follow on the next page. Below the first catchword is a second, "now counfterfetyde" (see p. 267), but this has been deleted by a red stroke, along with the "Ihus" which referred to the next speaker. A third catchword is written to the left, "As a cursyd" and "Mawdelyn" named as the speaker of the lines which are to follow. On fol. 149a begins Mary's speech, "As a cursyd creature" (p. 263). At the bottom of fol. 149b is the stage direction, "Here Cryst restyth and ethy a lytyl, and seyth, sytting to his disciples, and Mary Mawdelyn [goþth here. . . .]" (p. 265), the bracketed words being stroked through in black and in red. Fol. 150a begins "Myn herte is" (p. 265). In the middle of fol. 151a is the stage direction : "Here Iudas rysyth prevely and goþ In þe place & seyt now counþer" (p. 267). The rest of the page and all the back of the folio are blank. On fol. 152a Judas' speech "Now counþyfyted" begins. In brief, Mary's anointing and the Denunciation of Judas are each on a separate folio which will fit into any order by the simple change of stage directions, and that the order has been changed in this MS. is shown by the confusion in stage directions. The explanation of the changes on fol. 148b appears to be this : in the scribe's copy, the Denunciation of Judas (beg. "Myn hert is") followed the Council of the Jews (p. 263). The scribe, however, placed the Bargain of Judas (beg. "Now counþerfetyd") after the Council, and at a later date inserted Mary's anointing and the Denunciation of Judas between the Council and the Bargain of Judas.

But if the scribe connected Mary's anointing with the Last Supper, he is probably also responsible for the mention of Simon the Leper as Jesus' host at the Last Supper, which is without authority in Mediæval tradition. Very slight changes would have been sufficient to bring in Simon's name, since, except in the stage directions, he is named only twice (pp. 260–1). Possibly Jesus' words "Goth to Syon" (p. 259) were misunderstood by some scribe for "Goth to Syon."

(Birth of Christ).<sup>1</sup> Other discrepancies between the Prologue and the plays may or may not be due to the scribe.<sup>2</sup>

If the development of the Hegge cycle was along the lines sketched above, the significance of the verbal parallels with the *Northern Passion* is clear. For with few exceptions<sup>3</sup> the parallels fall in the stanzas which have on other grounds been attributed to B. The fidelity with which this playwright followed his source is in many cases remarkable: for example, in three instances<sup>4</sup> four successive lines of the *Northern Passion* have been rearranged in order to form one quatrain with the same alternate rhymes. The very literalness of the paraphrase sometimes results in clumsy phrasing, as—to cite only one instance—when the line,

Hys herand fully for to spedē (*N. P.* v. 488)

is reproduced in Christ's speech,

ffulleche myn erdon for to spedē (Hegge, p. 282).

Furthermore, parallels to the *Passion* are occasionally carried over into the stage directions,<sup>5</sup> as though the poet were trying to describe rather than to dramatize the scene. In short, much of this editor's work appears to be a somewhat inadequate adaptation of narrative material to dramatic purposes.

In summing up the relation of the *Northern Passion* to the plays, a distinction should be drawn between York on the one hand and Towneley and Hegge on the other. In the York plays the influence of the *Passion*, already present at the formative stage of the cycle, is more evident in the incidents than in the phraseology. The playwright or playwrights were undoubtedly familiar with the poem, but they had sufficient originality to clothe their borrowings in fresh language. In the Towneley and Hegge plays, on the other hand, the original cycle appears to have been independent of the *Passion*, and not till the plays came to be recast and rewritten did the influence of the poem make itself felt. In Towneley, XX, two editors at a comparatively late date incorporated passages of the *Passion*,

<sup>1</sup> In the MS., space is left for a full stanza of 13 lines in each case where the four lines are written; and an examination of the two quatrains shows that they describe merely the beginning of the plays.

<sup>2</sup> Plays VIII, IX, XIII, XVIII, XXV, XXIX, and XLI are not described in the Prologue, but VIII (or IX) and XIII are allowed for in the numbering. This is not clearly shown in Halliwell's edition. In the MS. "tende" (p. 5) is written over an erasure; "xte" (p. 6) is changed from "ixte"; "xi<sup>de</sup>" (p. 6) from "x<sup>de</sup>"; "xi" (p. 6) from "hilleuthe"; "xiii<sup>te</sup>" (p. 7) from "xiith"; "xv" (p. 7) from "xiii"; and "xvi" (p. 7) from "xiv." The alterations were made by the same hand which wrote the play of the *Assumption* (XLI).

<sup>3</sup> Exceptions are the parallels on Hegge, p. 265 (*N. P.* 127-8); p. 311 (*N. P.* 1021 ff.); p. 312 (*N. P.* 1120-4); p. 317 (*N. P.* 1539-44).

<sup>4</sup> *N. P.* 591-4; Hegge, p. 285; *N. P.* 1015-18; Hegge, p. 311; *N. P.* 1174-7; Hegge, p. 313; see also *N. P.* 429-32; Hegge, p. 280.

<sup>5</sup> Hegge, pp. 279, 334.

the first borrowing six consecutive lines, rhyme and all. In the Hegge cycle, an editor who might almost be called a playwright, in rewriting early plays reproduced the lines of the *Northern Passion* again and again. Though originality or dramatic technique can scarcely be expected from a mediæval mender of plays, the awkward reproduction in Hegge of some phrases of the *Passion* is surprising. The comparative independence of the early York playwright has assuredly not descended to this editor of the East Midland cycle.

The dependence of the cycles on the *Passion* is one more piece of evidence tending to prove that the plays are not isolated phenomena springing from a Latin Bible, Latin Apocrypha, etc., detached from English Literature, but that the dramatists, like the lyric poets, drew from the common store of English tradition. This store was common property then as it could not be now; for in those days of few books, reading was nearly synonymous with committing to memory, and a poem read was likely to influence plays or poems afterwards written. Therefore the influence of early works like the *Cursor Mundi*, the *Northern Passion*, and the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, which can readily be traced on subsequent literature, does not imply actual transcription from a MS. of the older poem on the part of the author, but rather such a recollection of the older phrases as any one might employ in the case of works learned "by heart." In this way the playwrights who revised old plays or wrote new ones continually adopted the phraseology, even the incidents, of familiar poems like the *Passion*. Nor is it to be supposed that all the parallels of the plays with vernacular literature have yet been brought to light: the discovery of the influence of the *Northern Passion* raises the hope of finding other English sources for the plays, which will establish even more clearly the close relation of the drama to vernacular literature.

## THE OLD FRENCH PASSION

*Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. O. 2. 14*

[THIS text of the French *Passion* probably shows the poem as the English author used it. The version of **O** is printed as it stands in the MS. (except that the often arbitrary division of words is occasionally altered), with the addition of certain couplets which, on comparison with the *Northern Passion*, appear to have been known to the English poet. These couplets, enclosed within brackets, are taken from *Bibliothèque Nationale ms. français* 20040, unless another source is specified. Where **O** is incorrect or obscure, and where another MS. shows readings nearer the *Northern Passion*, variants are added at the foot of the page. Variants for which no source is named are from *Bibl. Nat. ms. franç.* 20040; the other variants are from Fitzwilliam Museum MS. 20 (= **B**); *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.* 15606 (= **C**); *Bibl. Nat. ms. franç.* 24301 (= **E**); and *Saint-Brieuc ms.* 112 (= **S**). No attempt has been made to give a complete list of variant readings, nor are variants cited where only the versification of **O** is at fault. In a few cases where the other MSS. are of no assistance, conjectural readings are given, preceded by the word *Read*. **O** shows many characteristically Anglo-Norman forms along with frequent irregularities of versification; but the editor has taken pains to give a diplomatic copy of the text, however unusual the forms may appear.]

<b>O</b> r escutez mult du cement. [fol. 13a, col. 1]	Ceo dit li liures mot a mot
Gardez quil nait parlement.	Ke pasche esteit appelez
La passion dev entendez.	Sor tote rien estoit garde
Cument il fu por nus penez	16 Meis li princes de cele lei
Ne la poet oir creature	Ki nen ourent cure de bon Rei
Quil nait pitie ia tant niert dure	E li proueire e li mcistre
Por ceo quil ait point dentendement.	Quereient a destre e a senestre.
Al rei del ciel omnipotent	20 Cument iesum peussent prendre
La lecture uos oistes	E par boisdie en la croiz pendre
Que recunterent les ewangelistes	Ches caiphas sont assemble
Meis ne seustes que amunta	Euesques fu de la cite
Si bien cum ci orrez ia	24 Iluec unt lor conseil tenu
La feste as iuels aprismout	La parole . . . de ihesu
2 que ni ait.      6 Quelle.      7 Por quoi elle.      10 conta li euangelistes.      15 apelee.	16 gardee.      17 <b>B.</b> prince.      18 Nauoient. 26 parole font de; MS. blurred.

Cum faitement le traieraint Sanz la gent quil mult doteinent E dient tot priueement Laissom aler tote la gent Qui sont uenu a ceste feste Que trop grant noise ni sait fete <b>S</b> is iorz ainz que pasche fu En bethanie esteit ihesu [f. 13a, col. 2]	28	Que mult est chier + precios Porpensa sei que al glorios Le chef e les pez en unguerait Por ceo que tost merci auerait De suz la table en est uenue [f. 13b, col. 1]	64
La ov par grant piete plura Quant lazaram resuscita En lostel symon leprus Ieo sachez nest pas suls Des disciples i out asez Iudas ni fu pas ubliez Iluec unt fait un grant mangier Martha fu a lapareillier Lazarus e sa sore marie Mult i out bele compaignie. A cele scene sont asis Iudas i fut li enimis E nos/re sire tot nu pez Marie en prist grant pieteze Car les aueit mult decreuez Ieo feseit humilitez Por ceo uos uoleit mustrer Cum nus deuom a lui aler <b>L</b> a magdaleine ad porpense Cum lui poust seruir a gre Par quoi poust auoir pardonance De ses pecchiez dont ad pesance Kar en son quier li est aus Filz est al rei de parais Ki descendri del ciel por nos E fist a nos verrai succurs Iceste aueit chier unguement Une liure tot ovalment	32	Que mi dels ne fust aparceue En sa mein out un oignement Que mielz ualout dor + de argent As pez ihesu se laisse aler Des oilz comence a plurer Granz suspirs iette de parfont Toz ses piez enlermeez sont Dolur aueit de ses pecchiez	68
	36	Quant des lermes laua ses pez E loignement de sus ietta De ses cheuoils les asuia [Mult les bairoit + mult ploroit]	72
	40	Aualueour merci croitoit La grant flaur de loignement Empli la meison e la gent Li disciple quant quant lont veu	76
	44	A desdeing lont asquanz tenu E li traidores iudas i fu Ki tot son sens en out perdu Son felon quier ne pot celer	80
	48	Son seignor prist a demander Por quei il suffrit tel gastement De si precios oignement Il ualt dist il treis cent deners	84
	52	E plus asez car mult est chers E mielz ualsist quil fust done A poefre gent que si guaste Por ceo ne dist iudas nient	88
	56	Que cure en eust de poure gent Mais liere esteit e usurer Sor tote rien amout dener.	92
	60	a desdaig tenu. 88 A son. 91 E. cenz. 63 chiers. 68 Quelle ne. 70 cor ne argent. 74 ces picthies en larmes font. 83 B. deciple qui lont. 84 E. Aucant lont	96

47 nus. 48 A marie. 51 Ainsi noz.  
 63 chiers. 68 Quelle ne. 70 cor ne  
 argent. 74 ces picthies en larmes font.  
 83 B. deciple qui lont. 84 E. Aucant lont

a desdaig tenu. 88 A son. 91 E. cenz.  
 93 donnez. 94 gastez. 95 nel.  
 96 Quil ait cure. 97 lerres iert vseriers.  
 98 deniers.

D	eus lor respont mult dulcement E senz nul corouscement	100	Vn en i out ki sauancist Dunc duta que iudas se repentist	136
Diua	leisse ester marie		Mult tost trente deners li tent	[f. 14a, col. 1]
Or as tant fait que es mamie	[f. 18b, col. 2]		E iudas uolentiers les prent	
Poures aures od uos asez			Des ore meis sen penera	
Bien lor frez si uos uolez	104		Coment son seignor traira	140
Meis longement mei naurez mie			L a pasche uint . t li ior fu	
Ieo larrai uostre compaignie			Et li disciple i sont uenu	
Ceo quele ad feit mult laime + pris			Il dient sire diez a nus	
Ainz que ieo seie enseueliz	108		Nostre pasche ov tendrons	144
Mun cors aromatize ad			Deus lor dist mult dulcement	
De loignement mielz len frad			Or oez mun comandement	
Cil li pardoings toz ses pecchies			Perron + Iohan ad apelez	
Toz les noueals + les uiels	112		En la cite la enz entrez	148
Mult bon ouraigne ad fet en moi			Un hom si encunterez	
En uair uos di en bone foi			Aywe portant si li dirrez	
A toz iorz meis ceo que fait a			Ma pasche uoil en sa maison	
En memorie tenu serra	116		Ieo e tot mi compaignon	152
Iudas scariotes lentent			Mangier tot priueement	
Tel dol en a . por poi ne fent			Il le uoldra mult dulcement	
Enter ses denz dist belement			Si li faites apareillier	
Si : que fors deus nul ne lentent	120		Nostre ceine e nostre mangier	156
Li felons dit iol uos rendrai			L i doux disciples en sont torne	
Ceste perte restorrerai			En la cite en sont entre	
As iuels uos uendrai qui me dorront			Tot issi unt fait + troue	
Des bons deniers . + uos prendront	124		Come ihesu lout comande	160
Li traitres plus ne demore			E quant li iorz fud avesprez	
As iuels torne meismes Lore.			Nostre sire sen est tornez	
[As princes vint + a la gent	128		Entre est en la meison	
Qui ihesu namoient niant]			Ad lui ses duze compaignon	164
Dites moi fait il mult deliure			Asis se sunt a cel mangier	
Que me dorrez si iol uos liure			Iudas ne uolt pas celer	
Mun seignur que uos haez tant			Deuant son seignor sest asis	
E il li eurent en couenant	132		Li traitres li enimis	168
Trente deniers . guagiez le moi			Nostre sire tant lamat	
Nos tafium par bone foi			Totes hores od li mangat [fol. 14a, col. 2]	
103 Des poures. 110 B. mieus li sera.			134 B. Nous le tafieron. 139 ce. 141 iors.	
111 Ie li. 113 bonne euure faite.			143 B. sire di nous. 144 La nostre	
119 Entre. 120 que nulz de ceuz ne.			pasque ou tandrons noz. 155 Illuc faites.	
125 B. traiteur. 126 Ains sen torna en			157 Sui dui ami sen. 163 t venus est.	
icelle hore. 129 il a deliure. 133 les.			164 sui.	

E li traitem que feseit		Cest li men cors que ci ueez	
Si come nostre sire beueit	172	Sur Lautel ert representez	208
Si li emblout en traision		Ceo ert en la nuuele lei	
Le plus bel morsel de peisson		Ceo uoil que uos tenez de moi	
Ia deus ne feist nul semblant		En remembrance la ferez	
Endormit en sun deuant	176	De ma dolor que uos uerrez	212
Iohans li bons ewangelistes		Li uns de uos me traira	
Tot le mieldres de ses menistres		E as iuels me uendra.	
En petit hore len Raui		[Tout est escrist an escripture	
El ciel amont ses ielz oueri	180	Dou fil marie lauenture]	216
Tel chose uit nel uolt escrire		Issi couient acomplir	
Kar longe chose fust a dire		Quanque de moi est a uenir	
Frere dist deus mult longement		E neporquant mal auendra	
Ceo sachez uos uerraient	184	Al traitre qui me traira	220
Ai eu grant desirer		Melz li ualsist pur ueir asez	
Iceste pasche od uos mangier		A icel home que ia ne fust nez	
E ne mangerai mais od uos		Quant li disciples lont oi	
Tres de mort serroi resous	188	Trestot lor quiers sont enfremi	224
Por uos sufferai passion		Sire dist il donc chascon par sei	
Que naugiez en perdition		Si ieo sui ceo dites le moi	
Nostre sire quant ceo dit		[Quant ihesu ot chou entendu	
Entre ses mains le peini prit	192	Mult douchement a respondu]	228
A son soen pierre graces en rent		Od moi mangue . e od moi beit	
A ses disciples Le pein tent		Ki mon cors trair deit	
Tenez dit il . t si lusez		Li fel iudas ad respondu	
Ceo est li men cors que ci ueez	196	Sui ieo donc ceo maister ihesu	232
Mun cors mangiez mon sanc beueez		Ceo es tu verraiement	
Par ceo serrez sauueez		Ia as tu dit apertement	
Si le receuez dignement		L i disciple laissent ester	
Ov si ceo non al iugement	200	La treison a demander	236
Serrez dampnez sanz raucon		Altre chose vont querant	
Naurez autre gueredon		Li quel dels lum tient a plus grant	
Ne di pas a uos solement [fol. 14b, col. 1]		Frere dist deus la male gent	
Meis a trestote lautre gent	204	Les diable met a nient [fol. 14b, col. 2]	240
Ci uos mustre ore apertement		Il quident estre mult en halt	
Com uos frez le sacrement		Mais ne sont pas ases en falt	

175 deuz nen. 176 Endormi soi en.

178 Toz li. 179 deure fu rauis. 181 ne.

188 C. Iusque de. 190 a perdition.

193 C. son chier pere. 201 Read rancon.

205 Le uoz. 223 disciple. 224 Tuit li

membre. 225 Sire ce dit chascuns.

227-228 supplied from B. 234 B. Tu

las bien dit. 238 B. De plus grans choses

demandant. 240 B. Qui onques ne ma-

merent nient. 241 estre li plus haut.

Mais entre uos issi niert pas Tot li plus halt ert li plus bas Cil qui uoldra eshaucier Sur tuz lestoet humilier A trestoz li couient seruir Et sa uolente deguerpir Ieo sui ici come seruanz Ieo serf les petiz + les granz [Ie ne vaing pas por signorer Ne por maistrie demostrer] Mis duz piere qui est la sus Il menuoia por uos sa ius Ieo sui volentiers uenuz Ben sai que en croiz serrai penduz 256 Apres moi uos estot aler Si uos ne uolez forsuiteir Uos estes le men ami Granz mals auez por mei suffri Meis ieo uos gueredonerai Et li mien piere enpreierai Quil uos en rende gueredon Si fera il en sa meison Sur les duze seges serrez La gent israhel iugerez Al iugement . ov ieo serrai Serrez od mei quant iol frai Perres symon sez tu amis Cum est irrez li enimis Ki te quida tolir ta foi Que tu ne creusses en moi 272 Meis ieo proierai por tei Tant que tu ben las forment ieo crei Et tu si soiez sagres + pruz [fol. 15a, col. 1] Confortes tes freres tuz Or unt Li disciple scene	244	E del mangier se sont leue E li bons maistres se leua Ignelement ses dras osta Dun lincel cest auronez A cels uoleit lauer les pez En un bachin mist ewe clere Uenez est as pez sein piere Oste sire nel faites pas Ia les mens pez ne laueras Si ieo nes lieue dist deus parfoi El ciel nauras ia part od moi Sain piere li ad respondu E chef e mins me leues tu Ainz que naie part od tei Or fai a ton pleisir de mei Quant out a toz les pez lauez Ses dras ad pris + refublez Mult humblement entrels sasist Or escultez que il lor dist 296 <b>S</b> auez que ai fait e demustre Ceo seignefie Humilite Uos mapelez maistre e seignor E dites bien e grant honor 300 Mais ceo est ueir ne mentez mie Par mei aurez durable vie Si ieo me sui agenoilliez Deuant uos por Lauer uoz piez Ceo est essample que io uos lees Issi deuez uos faire aprees Li uns a lautre mult dulcement Si com ieo faz ore en present [fol. 15a, col. 2] 308 Kar cum uos plus abaiserez El ciel amont plus halt serrez Or uos dirrai un autre rien Par tens serra ceo sachez ben 312	280
258 Ce uos en ciel uoles monter. 259 li. 260 Grant mal. 262 C. lou. 269 Pierres tu ies li miens amis. 270 Mult est ries. 274 Car bien las fait si com ie croi. 275 soies sages. 284 Venus en est. 285 B. Ostes.	248	284	
	252	288	
	260	292	
	264	300	
	268	304	
	272	308	
	276	312	
	288	289 Sains pieres. 290 t piez t mains me leue. 291 que ie naie. 295 MS. ad deleted after mult. 301 B. voirs. 306 C. faire humais. 308 iai fait ci en. 309 Quat tant com plus humle seres. 311 vne. 312 Voire sera.	

Mult uos uerrai esparpeillez En ceste nuit . e esmaiez Chascon de uos me guerpira Pur la pour quil aura		Il li trestoz unt respondu Assez auom toz tens eu	348
Trestoz uos estouera fuir Car pour aurez de murir Desque li pastor ert feruz Li fuchs des bestes ert uencusz.	316	Or uos dirrai que uos frez Chascon de uos espee aurez Et qui ne la sa cote uende Espe akate dont sei defende	352
Ieo sufferai por uos toz la mort Li iuev me occirunt a tort Apres ma mort me trouerez En Galilee ov me querrez	320	Il en uit dous aprestez Sire font il cestes veez Or en i ad dist deus asez Alez de ci cedron pasez	356
A sein pere nent ne plout La parole que deus dit out Sire dit il que auez diz Ceo frai ieo mult a enviz	324	Trestoz sen sont diloc torne Fors iudas sul le forsene Entree en sont en un vergier Ov esteient meint oliuer	360
Nent ni ad de mon fuir Od tei mestot uiuere e morir Deus Li respont mult dulcement Enceis serra tot altrement	328	Mont oliuete ad non li lieus Deus i alout suuent tot seuls <b>Q</b> uant il les out toz assemblez Frere dist deus or vos seez	364
Einz que li cochs chant alt ov bas Par treis feiz me reneieras Sein pierre li respont apres Ceste chose ne dites mes	332	[Quant il lor ot ce sermōne Vn pou loin dax sen <i>est alez</i> ] Treis de els ad od sei menez Que plus esteient de ses priuez	368
Ieo nel frai por morir Ren ne me pot de tei departir Li autre dient ensement Que nel guerpiront nent	336	Li ons de cels out a non sein pierre Et Iaches . + Iohan son frere Freres dist deus tres a la mort Est ma alme sanz confort	372
Or laissom fait deus ceo ester	[fol. 15b, col. 1]	Tenez vos od mei de dormir Ma charn ad pour de morir Deu sesloigna un tres petit Or escultez quad en lescrit	[fol. 15b, col. 2]
De altre chose uoil parler Quant solei od uos aler Senz escrepe + senz souler E sanz sachel . + sanz baston	340	Chair se laisse en vreison Son pierre apele par son saint non Pere dist il ieo crei bien Que tu poz faire tote rien	380
Failly uos unques guarison	344		

315 Chascuns. 319 paistres est. 320 des  
brebis est. 326 C. De damedeu ce que an  
ot. 327 B. il chou que tu dis. 328 B. ceo  
omitted. 329 Nient iert ia de moi.  
333 B. haut ne bas. 335 Sains pieres.  
340 Quil nel. 344 escharpe + sans solers.  
345 sans sales + sans maisons. 346 garisons.

347 + il ont trestuit respondu. 350 Chascuns.  
352 C. Bon glaive achat. 353 C. Illuc an  
hont . ii. aportez. 357 Tuit. 358 iudas  
qui sen est amblez. 359 B. Venu. 362 toz.  
368 Qui pluz ierent de lui priue. 370 iaque.  
371 Signor dit deuz iusqua. 373 MS.  
morir *deleted after de.* 377 lasse a orison.

Si te pleisait pas nel uoldrai La mort ainz trespasserai Mais neporquant ma uolente Ne soit pas faite mais la dee [La soie volante ottroi Or face son plasir de moi] Issi se demenout Li sire Ki senz pecchie fu t sanz ire <b>V</b> ns angles est descenduz Del ciel qui li est aparuz Son seignor prist a conforter De co dunt Loi dementer E come La pour li veneit Del angoisse que ueer deueit Priout son pierre omnipotent Asez plus ententiuement De La pour que ihesus out Gotes de sanc sa char siwout [Si grans quauual sa char corroient t que desus terre cheoient] Beals sire deus por quei suffries Si por ceo non que le volies Ceste angoise t ceste dolor Igeo fu por nostre amor Por nos reindre del forfeit Que Li primers hom auoit feit Donc se leua de sa oreison Ihesum querant amen deuom A ses disciples est uenuz Endormi le troue e vencuz Pieres dist deus esueillez tei Ne poez ueillier un hore od mei Esueilliez uos si priez [fol. 16a, col. 1]	384	Li esperit pas ne dort La charn enferm crient sa mort <b>Q</b> uant ceo out dit si sen torna Ariere vint t si hora	420
[La soie volante ottroi Or face son plasir de moi] Issi se demenout Li sire Ki senz pecchie fu t sanz ire <b>V</b> ns angles est descenduz Del ciel qui li est aparuz Son seignor prist a conforter De co dunt Loi dementer E come La pour li veneit Del angoisse que ueer deueit Priout son pierre omnipotent Asez plus ententiuement De La pour que ihesus out Gotes de sanc sa char siwout [Si grans quauual sa char corroient t que desus terre cheoient] Beals sire deus por quei suffries Si por ceo non que le volies Ceste angoise t ceste dolor Igeo fu por nostre amor Por nos reindre del forfeit Que Li primers hom auoit feit Donc se leua de sa oreison Ihesum querant amen deuom A ses disciples est uenuz Endormi le troue e vencuz Pieres dist deus esueillez tei Ne poez ueillier un hore od mei Esueilliez uos si priez [fol. 16a, col. 1]	388	Piere dist il pas nel faudra Ta uolente tote serra Ta uolente uoil t ottrei Or fai a ton plaisir de moi	424
Ne poez ueillier un hore od mei Esueilliez uos si priez [fol. 16a, col. 1]	392	Quant deu out dit tot son plaisir En ses amis nout que endormir Et ne poeint meis veillier Lor laburs ert de deu prier	428
Ne poez ueillier un hore od mei Esueilliez uos si priez [fol. 16a, col. 1]	396	[A ceuz reuint sauoir quil font Mais trestuit endormi ce sont Lors ne les uot pas esuoiller Ains va arrieres por prier]	432
Ne poez ueillier un hore od mei Esueilliez uos si priez [fol. 16a, col. 1]	400	Puis refist altre tel oreison Cum dist deuant si cum nos sison Apres est ariere venuz Tuz a trueuez dormanz ses duz	436
Ne poez ueillier un hore od mei Esueilliez uos si priez [fol. 16a, col. 1]	404	Dont demande por quei dormez Un hore veillier ne poez Iudas ne dort ore nient Et uos reposez seurement	440
Ne poez ueillier un hore od mei Esueilliez uos si priez [fol. 16a, col. 1]	408	Esueilliez vos alez de ci Iudas est pres qui mad trai Il mad vendu as peccheurs Ia uerez ci ses achateurs	444
Ne poez ueillier un hore od mei Esueilliez uos si priez [fol. 16a, col. 1]	412	Quant dampnedeu out issi parle Si uint Iudas od grant meine [Noire nus est mult en i ot Li fel iudas touz lez guiot]	448
Ne poez ueillier un hore od mei Esueilliez uos si priez [fol. 16a, col. 1]	416	Il ne ueneient pas sanz armes Haches aueient . e gisarmes E si portouent granz bastons Lantieres cleres t brandons [fol. 16a, col. 2]	
381 pas ne. 382 ainz la. 392 MS. cor- rected from demender. 402 que vos volez. 408 Ihesus que mult amer deuonc. 410 C. Si les troua dormans t nuz. 411 esuoille. 412 B. vne. 414 signor. 417 esperis.		421-2 Pere fait il ce ce puet estre / Que ceste mors (B. mort) ne me fust mestre. 425 deuz. 426 B. t si ami sont endormi. 427 Il ne. 428 labor. 434 lisons. 436 drus. 438 Vne. 452 Lanternes.	

<b>S</b> eignors ceo dist li fel Iudas		La destre oreille li coupa	488
Ihesum ne conossez pas		Auoi dist deus pieres ne faire	
Celui que baiser me uerrez		Uols tu a ton seignor despleire	
Ceo est mi maistres celui pernez	456	Oste ta arme esta en peis	
Si len menez ben cointement		Garde que tu nel facez meis	492
Que ne uos puise eschaper nent		Ki de glaue ferra altrui	
Ihesus nout cure de fuir		A Glaiue irra le cors de lui	
Qui de son gre uoleit murir	460	Ieo nai cure de mei defendre	
Encuntrels uait . li quel de nos		De mon gre uoil en la croiz pendre	496
Diua fait il . genz que querez uos		Ieo aurai asez defendemenz	
De ceo que dampnedeu dist		Angles a milliers e a cenz	
Merueilluse pour les prist	464	Si ieo uoleie . meis ne uoil	
Neporquant si ont respondu		La mort suffrai sanz orgoil	500
Por ihesum sumes ca venu		<b>O</b> R oez grant humilite	
Ieo sui ceo ihesu respunt		Essample de grant bonte	
Quant ceo out dit ariere vont	468	Loreille prist qui esteit coupe	
De la uoiz deu tel pour ont		A cel iev lad resane	504
Que toz a terre chaeit sont		Mais li iev qui dev maudie	
E quant il furent releue		Tant furent plein de felonie	
Altre feiz lor ad demande	472	Ceo disieint que tot ert fable	
Ki querez uos dites le moi		Quancque il feseit esteit par diable	508
Iesum querum qui se feit Rei		Iuev fait deus uos me pernez	
E Ia lauez uos bien oi		Come ieo fuse leres prouez	
Ieo sui iceo ueez mei ci	476	Grant hunte feites ceo sachez	
Donc vint iudas si se salua		Mult grant pecchie de mei auez	512
Et en la buche li beisa		De ior por quei ne mauez uos pris	
<b>A</b> mis dist deus que as tu ci quis		Ceo fust plus bel ceo mest aus	
Tu me baises si me traist	480	El temple od uos suuent esteie	
A icest mot lont toz saisi		De bien faire uos sermoneie	516
De tutes parz li enemi		Uncques uos ne deistes nule rien	
[t sui deciple lont guerpi		Men escient ne fust de ben	
Chascuns sen part sen est fuis]	484	Lores por ceo ne me preistes	
E sain pieres qui lad ueu		Si por ceo nun que tu le uolsistes *	520
Od sa espee ad on feru		A icest mot lunt tot seisi * [fol. 16b, col. 2]	
Malchus ad non ben lasena [fol. 16b, col. 1]		De tutes parz sen sont fui	
453 Signor. 456 mon maistre. 458 Quil.		saisai. 485 t pierres saut qui. 492 <b>B.</b> Itel	
461 Antrax ce mist ihesus por noz. 463 <b>B.</b>		chose ne faire mais. 494 ira li. 503 copee.	
damediedex lor dist. 466 ci. 470 tuit a		504 resanee. 517 Onques ne vos dis.	
terre cheu. 473 Que. 476 sui ihesus		518 esciant que ne fust bien. 519 t por-	
ueez. 477 iudas cel salua. 478 la face le.		quoi lors ne. 520 que ne vossistes; MS.	
481 <b>B.</b> mot si lont saisi; MS. corrected from		nun in margin. 521 lont lors saisi.	

Chascon pensa de sei guarir Et ihesus vait por els murir Por les nosz dolorus peccchiez Uoleit estre crucifiez En la meison dan chaifaz Est deus menez plus que le pas Forment le lient por nient Kar de fuir nauoit talent Iluec erent a vne Chef chaifas le forsene Li euesque e li seignor Uers deu nauoient point damor Entries chaipas se seiait Des pruuoires princes esteit E euesques de la cite Cest conseil il ad done As faus iuels de deu trair E dist quil couent murir Vn home por tote la gent Mais nel dit pas a escient Dui disciple iceo ueeient Qui plus lamouent t creient. Ceo fu sein pierre e sein iohan La dolur virent . t lahan Que deus por els soffreit Icele nuit feseit grant freit La ov ihesu esteit menez Iohans li bons i est entrez Mais sein pere ni entra mie Kar quida perdre la vie Iohan le vit mult len pesa [fol. 17a, col. 1] Celui qui lus gardout pria Son compaignon laist enz entrer Que il al feu se peust chaufer Cil li respont or uienge auant Pieres entre enz pour ad grant	524	E neporquant ueeir voleit Que lom de son seignor feseit Ne sai li quels des enemis Out iohan par le mantel pris E il lur laisse sun mantel	560
	528	Fuiant sen vait mult li fu bel Quant de lur mains fut eschape Il ni serra huimeis troue	564
	532	D eus est entrez od les fauses gent Ki li demeinent vilement	568
	536	Mult alouent enquérant Si entreprendre le pusent Mais ni trouerent si bien non Tot le teneient por brichon	572
	540	Il esteient tot de une part Dient que mult iert de mal art Quant il filz deu se fait apeler Que tendez uos de li tuer	576
	544	Dui pautener se sont leuez Dentre les autres aseufrez L I uns ad dit or esculitez Seignors trestoz . t entendez	580
	548	A cest seignor oi ieo dire Si que ia nel porra desdire Cestui nostre temple destruierait Et en treis iorz le refrait	584
	552	Est il donc itant poissantz Salamon i mist quarante anz [f. 17a, col. 1] Sil nauoit plus fait ne dit Ben est dreit que hom le lapit	588
	556	Il escrient a une uoiz Crucifiez soit en la croiz Dist caiphas dun as tu hunte De ceo que cest prodom acunte	592
		Que tu ne respuns queque seit Tu fas semblant quil unt dreit	
523 Chascuns (i. e. sui disciple). veut. 529 Tres bien lies mais por. 531 erent tuit assemble. 532 Chiez. 535 Entrax. 536 Qui des. 540 con- uandroit. 544 t cremoient. 545 fu pierres	524 B.	t sains iehans. 551 sains peres. 553 Iehans. 561 B. le quel. 563 il li. 566 trouez. 567 entre la male gent. 568 le. 580 Read Seignor trestut. 587 plus ne fait ne. 588 B. drois con le pendist.	

Li reis nent ne li diseit		Si tu es filz al rei puissant
E chaiphas mult lenquereit	596	Di mei tost apertement
Di moi par quel lei uos uiuez		Oiant trestute nostre gent
Quant tu duze estoiez asemble		Deu li respont mult dulcement
Deus li respunt mult dulcement		Tu dis iol sui veirement
Ceo que iai enseigne . la gent	600	<b>D</b> ES ore mes uerrez le filz marie
Ieo nel di pas celeement		Od sa bele compaignie
Ainz le dis ben apertement		636
El temple ai souent sermone		Il iugerat mort t vis
Ov toz esteient asemble	604	Ki bon serra a ben ert pris
Uos t li altre compaignon		E il serra al iugement
Ben auez oi a bandun		Soen serront li comandement
Ceo que ieo enseigne. iol di deuant		640
Por quei me uas ceo demandant	608	Ke il saluera si ert salue
Cels le demande t quer		Ki il dampnera si ert dampne
Ki souent mooaient sermoner		<b>Q</b> uant ceo oid li fel chaiphas
Doncques saueras si ieo ai ben dit		644
E si ieo enseigne solum lescrit	612	Si lad saisi par mi ses dras
<b>U</b> NS des serianz dan chaifas		Sus est leuez cum uns desuesz
Est leue sus igne pas		Por petit nest forsenez
Hauce sa paume feru la		Par tel air uers sei le tyre
Apres li dist qui tenseigna	616	Ses uestemenz toz li descire
Si folement as respondu		Or auez oi grant merueillez
Por un petit que ieo ne te tu		Enclines ca toz uosz oreillez
Ceo est nostre euesque qui parole	[f. 17b, col. 1]	Ia querrions nus achaison
Mult as uers lui fole parole	620	Par quei nus lentreprendriom [17b, col. 2]
Deu li respund mult du cement		Ni ait celui qui aient oie
Si ieo ai parle folement		Que uos est auis de sa vie
De mal porte testemonie		Il respondent hautement
Gardez ne dire felonie	624	Nos sauom ben veraient
Mais or me di apertement		Que il est cupable de sa mort
Por quei me baz tu por nent		Nos auom dreit t il ad tort
Or me di chaiphas dit		Sain peres aueit pris son leu
Parole a mei selonc lescrit	628	Entrels esteit asis al feu
Ie te coniur par deu le grant		Il esgardout . t attendeit
		Que hum de son seignor fereit
		Vne femme lesgarde t dit
		Dun es tu des disciples ihesu crist
		664

598 **C.** tuit .xii. ansamble estez. 600 an-  
signie a la. 604 tuit. 606 lauez.  
609 A celz le poez demander. 610 souant  
mont oi. 612 **B.** selonc. 614 Read leues.  
619 esuesques. 621 deuz. 623 **B.** Ne male  
raison tesmoigne. 633 **B.** diex. 635 **C.** fil.

637 **B.** Ie iugeria t mors. 638 Qui bien  
fera en bien. 641 Qui. 641 **B.** sauues.  
642 **B.** dampnes. 646 **B.** Pour .i. petit.  
650 **C.** tuit. 653 **B.** a celui qui naît oit.  
654 **B.** La grant merueille quil a dit.  
657 **B.** coupables de la. 659 Sainz.

Pieres respont nai par fei  
 Sires feit ele par ma lei  
 Cil qui chaufent environ  
 Le cunurent a reison  
 Il unt dit don es tu  
 Un disciple li rei ihesu  
 Pieres respont ignelement  
 Nai par fei nel sui nent  
 Uns des sergansz dan chaiphas  
 Vers lui saproce ignelepas  
 Don te vi fait icil  
 Ensemble od lui estre el curtil  
 Ia me feris tu de ta espee  
 Si que loreile en oi colpec  
 E tis mestres La sana  
 Ke par itant guarir quida  
 Pieres se comence a maldire  
 A iurer + a contredire  
 Vncques fait il certes ne fui  
 Ne ior ne nuit od celui  
 [Sains pieres vit ne si garra  
 Diluec sen tourne si sen va]  
 Com pieres de la porte issout [f. 18a, col. 1]  
 Un autre femme laparcout  
 Par deu fait ele icist fu  
 Uns des homes le rei ihesu  
 Nul est pas uns autre dist  
 Quides que si se maldist  
 Tenes me uos fait ele por fole  
 Iol conuis a sa parole  
 Pieres dist unkes meis nel vi  
 Fors ore que iol vei ici  
**Q**uant ceo out dit li coc chanta  
**Q**E ihesus uers perrun garda  
 Pieres sempres saparceit

666 Si es fait. 667 qui ce chaufent. 668 a la raison. 669 dont nies. 670 Des disciples au roi. 675 Dont ne te ui ge fait. 676 lui en .i. 679 **B.** mestre. 679 la me sana. 685-686 supplied from **B.** 687 porte sen issoit. 688 Une. 691 **B.** Non est pas ons autres.

De ceo que deus dit li aueit 700  
 Que anceis que li coc chantereit  
 Treis feiz Le reniereit  
 668 Fors sen ist peres memes lure  
 Del quer suspire des ielz plure 704  
**O**R larrum ici de sain piere  
 Si dirrum de deu nostre piere  
 672 Qui esteit entre la fause gent  
 Que li demonouent si vilement 708  
 Il eschinent des denz vers li  
 En mi sun vis unt escopi  
 676 Li fals iuels Li fel cuiluert  
 Li son beal vis li unt couert 712  
 En la face ferent ihesu  
 Puis li dient qui ta feru  
 680 Il se teiseit . + cil parleient  
 Tuit le fereient + bateient  
 Or di . qui te fert plus souent  
 Ia ses tu ben que io ment  
 El col li donent grant colees  
 Et en la face grant buffees [fol. 18a, col. 2]  
 Di qui te fert en mi le vis  
 Si tu es reis de parais  
 Il ne diseit rien li sire  
 Qui sanz pecchie fu + sanz ire 724  
 Tute nuit lunt issi gabe  
 Escopi . + decire  
 688 Tresqual matin que li ior fud  
 Toz ensemble sont reuenud  
 [Lor conseil prennent quil feront  
 Confaitement le traирont]  
**L**I maistre princes + li meilleurs  
**L**Qui del poeple furent seignors 732  
 Deuant els funt uenir ihesu  
 Puis li demandent qui es tu

692 Cuidiez uoz quil ce. 696 Fors tant que. 697 coz. 701 coz. 703 pierres an icelle ore. 708 Qui le. 710 lont. 711 iuif. 712 Le suen. 718 bien ce ie te mant. 719 grans. 720 granz. 727 iors. 728 **B.** tuit. 731 **B.** prince. 732 seignor.

Si tu es crist qui deit venir		Icele felonesse gent	772
Ne nus cele pas por morir	736	Or veit iudas quil est dampnez	
Deus lur respont si iol uos di		E sis seires a mort luirez	
Ne me creusses mie ore ici		Par lui e par sa treison	
[Quar ce ie le uoz di en bien		Quil engingna com malueis hom	776
Vos ne me responderez rien	740	As iuels vint . t a la gent	
t por ice ne laurez mie		Ki deu namouent unques nent	
Que ne me facies villōnie]		Seignors fait il por deu tenez	
Des ore en auant si auendra		Ices deners que ci ueez	780
Que li filz de uirgine serra	744	Mult ai pecchie sanz mesure	
A la destre son pere altisme		Ia deu de moi naura meis cure	
Qui ueit del ciel tresquen abisme		Io lai trai sanz achaison	
Tote la turbe Li respond		Ben sai naurai iamais pardon	784
Es tu donc filz al rei del mond	748	Cil li dient . que ateint a nus	
Vos le dites ieo sui sanz faille		Tot li pecchie soit sor vos	
Nel prisen pas tote vne maille		Quant lot iudas sis get el temple	
Ainz dient . il est ben iugez		Ices deners si sen emble	788
Or est del tut mult enpeirez	752	Desperez est . si sest penduz	
Ia quidouent la fole gent		De sa ceinture a un seuz	
Que nus leussum pris pur nient		De dol sociст si est dampnez	
Mais nus lauom ben pris par dreit		Por tant quil fut desesperez	792
Quant il issi filz deu se feit	756	Car sil se uolsist tenir	
Lioms le ben menom le tost		E de son pecchie repentir [fol. 18b, col. 2]	
Deuant pilate le prouost		Il eust eu merci t pardun	
Deuant pilate lont mene [fol. 18b, col. 1]		Cum nus aurom si nus uolom	796
Et forment lont donc encuse	760	Li ieu unt les deners pris	
Sire font il nus tamenum		Dient ov ert cist auers mis	
Un faus prophete mult felon		Ceo sont deniers de traision	
[Qui touz desuoie nostre gent		Ia el temple nel metterom	800
De la loi deu ne ceit nient]		Ia en la faire del muster	
Il dit que al rei cesar le sage	764	Ne serra mis un sul dener	
Ne deit hum doner treuage		Dient li autre quen feroms	
Sin auom nus certes beals sire		Vn liu la fors en achatoms	804
En nos quiers grant dol t ire	768	Ou lem destruiera ces larroms	
De ceo quil dist . reis est de nos		Ses traitres ses feluns	
Ia fust tues ne fut por uos		E iluec enterrerons	
Il li nuisouent mult forment		Les cors que nus ne conoissions	808

735 dois. 736 B. Ne te choile. 741 B.  
 lairies. 766 Ne li doit on faire hontage.  
 779 Signor. 782 deus. 786 B. Tous li

pechies. 787 si gete. 792 Por ce quil.  
 799 denier. 801 en louraigne dou. 802 vns  
 souz deniers.

Des pelerins de estrange gent	Par deu font il oil beals sire	844
Qui entre nos morent suuent	Pilate dist menez le mei	
Issi dient t issi funt	A herode Lenueierai	
Monte caluarie achate unt	812 Desque il est de la poeste	
Ihesu i suffri passion	Si en face sa uolente	848
Nient por els si por nus non	A herode Le meinent tot droit	
E issi cum uos auez oi	Qui pres de la cite esteit	
Mult lencusent li enemi	816 Uenuz ert ne sai por quei	
Uers pilate . deus se teiseit	Ameinent li ihesum le rei	852
Nule chose ne responeit	herodes uit uenir ihesu	
Pilate dist don as tu oi	Si li ad dit ben uienges tu	
Cume cis tacusent ore ici	820 E cil ait qui ca tenveie	
Est ueir ou ceo funt par envie	Ceo est pilate que ieo haeie	856
Ihesu ne lor respont mie	Ci li pardons mun matealent	
Por ceo lor fait deu surd oreille	Mais nel haz ne tant ne quant	
Que pilate en ait merueille	824 Mult ad grant tens que io voleie	
Di moi fait il priueement	A tei parler meis ne poeie	860
Ia norrunt mais ceste autre gent	Car ueneit deuant mei	
Iestu donc reis de ices iuel [f. 10a, col. 1]	Ne sai pur pour ov por quei	
Iesu li dit uos le iugiesz	828 Dire ai oie par ton signacle	
Seignors ceo lur ad dit pilates	Ad lem veu main bel miracle [f. 10a, col. 2]	
Cest home ie ui me menastes	Li morz en sunt resuscite	
Ne truis en lui si bien non	E li auoegle enlumine	
Or me dites achaison	832 [t maint autre que fait aues	
Sire font il par deu le rei	Dont iai oi parler asses]	868
Il uolt destruire nostre lei	Mes ore men un en present	
Ben ad tress anz quil ne fuia	Si quel veient tote ma gent	
De prechier t ca t La	836 Et ieo friai tel pleit apres	
De la terre de galilee	Que tu remeindras tot en peis	872
Desque en nostre cuntre	Ihesus nule rien respont	
Tout uat le puple deceuant	A poi li reis de dol ne funt	
Faitez de lui iustise grant	840 I reis por fol tenir se pot	
Est il donques de galilee	Quant iceo unkes quidot	876
De la herodine contree]	Que deus merueille i feist	
Garde ueir . me sacez a dire	Por rien que dire li oist	

812 **B.** Mont. 814 por lui ce.  
 820 Com cil. 823 sorde; MS. ceo inserted.  
 829 Signor. 830 **B.** homme que  
 chi mamenaste. 837 Des la.  
 843 **B.** gardes si me. 855 **B.** ait  
 bien qui. 857 Tout li. 861 **B.** Ne

voloies pas deuant. 862 **B.** Venir t si  
 ne sai pour quoi. 863 t ie croi  
 que par. 867-8 supplied from **B.**  
 869 **B.** men fai vn. 873 rien ne respont.  
 878 li poist.

Deus se peust ben eschaper		Nest pas dreit quil seit tuez
E des felons tost deliurer	880	Ainz seit batuz e leindengiez
Or len uunt mult anguissant		E de la terre ostez
Parole al rei ov poi ov grant		Il fu costome a icel tens
Ensiegne nus ov mal ov ben		A la pasche si cum ieo pens
Ihesus ne lor dist rien	884	Sil aueient pris uns felons
E cil qui lunt la mene		Ov homicide ou larrons
Al rei lunt forment encuse		Un lur serreit renduz
Meis herodes quant ad veu		Ia ne serreit retenuz
Que rien ne fait pur lui ihesu	888	Le quel quil demandassent
Mult se desplait ouec sa gent		Meis primes ben quil le batissent
Uestu lunt de un blanc uestement		Puis tute quite sen alout
[Puis lont gabe t escharni		Meis as iuels nient ne plout
La male gent nen ont merci	892	Que ihesu lor seit renduz
De collees lont debatu		Mielz aiment quil seit retenuz
Mult estoit deus de grant vertu]		Trestuz escrient a un glas
Quant trestoz lunt si gabe		Que rendu lur seit barrabas
Li herodes ad parle	896	Barrabas ert un homicides
De deuant mei tost lostez		Un mals leres t un traidores
A pilate la remenez		En prison esteit por soen forfeit
Si li dites io lui mand		Dun larrecin quil aueit feit
Que il en face son comand	900	Or uos dirrai un poi del diable
<b>A</b> pilate lunt remene		Maistre prouost e conestable [fol. 19b, col. 2]
Si cum li reis lout comande		De lenfernal perdition
Or sunt li dui felun ami	[fol. 19b, col. 1]	Ou hom auera si mal non
Qui deuant erent enemi	904	<b>C</b> leo est belzebub li maistre t sire
Pilates fait uenir par deuant sei		Qui ad tot dis dol t ire
Venir les princes de la lei		Iceo nos cunte lescriptione
Seignors fait il or esculitez		Uncques ne fud creature
A cest hom que demandez	908	Nul plus bel que il fu
Ne truis en lui nul achaison		Par son orgoil lad perdu
Por quei li face si ben non		Car contre deu uoleit regner
Ne herode ni troua mie		Aual le fist deu trebucher
Pur quei il deust perdre la vie	912	Ius en abisme al plus parfont
Iol uos rendrai si uos uolez		La ou la male gent irront
879 bien deliurer. 880 De ces iuuis t eschaper. 881 le uont tuit aperceuant. 889 ce despit lui t sa. 895 trestuit. 896 Li rois herodes. 898 le. 905 Or fait pilates dauant. 907 Signor. 909 Read nule. 914 B. drois. 919 un home		fellow. 920 larron. 921 A pasque lor. 925 toz quites. 929 B. Anchois sescrient. 930 B. rendus. 931 B. uns. 932 t maluais lerres patrocides. 932 B. traître. 938 nauira. 940 B. Qui ia nert sans duel t sans ire. 943 Read Nule plus bele. 946 Read deus.

En cele nuit que deu fu pris Porpense que dist Li enemis Que aparceiure ne poeit Si ihesus deus del ciel esteit Si il deus est t il pert vie Donc ai perdu ma baillie Il brisera enfern li sire Qui li osera contredire Sil receit mort ceo ai ieo fait Ieo ai comence tot cest plait Ieo men irrai tost conseil querrai Par quei de mort le ietterai A la femme pilate en ueit Deuant sun lit tot dreit sesteit Cele le uait en son dormant Nest pas merueille sat pour grant	Mult ai a nuit por li suffert Grant manaces en non desert De nule rien puis que fui ne 952 Ne fui ieo tant espoente Quant pilate oid ses diz Trestut li sanc li est fremiz Il apele les iuels fals 956 Seignors fait il dites quels mals Ad fait cist home qui ci tenoms Einz que iustice en facoms Sire ceo dist la compaignie 960 Si il fud de mal vie Pleins dorgoil t de felonie Ne ne tei liuerism mie Pilate dist. seignors par de 964 A uos en doings ieo le cunge Iugiez le uos . e cil li dient A une voiz trestoz escrient Sire font il . il ne laist mie A nul de nos quil occie	984
A ton seignor di que garde ben	[fol. 20a, col. 1]	Pilate vint arer a ihesu
Ne seit occis por nule rien		Sire fait il reis es tu
Vncques ne fua belzebud		Deus li respunt est ceo de tei
Des qual main que li ior fud		Ou autres li te unt dit de mei
Meis quant la dame sesueilli		Que tu me creies estre rei
Por la uision fu tot effremi		Ieo ne sui pas de uostre lei
Quant ele sot que ihesu		Pilate respont apres
Deuant pilate mene fu		Le men uoille fusses en pais
Mandat lui par une message		Cist ieys te unt liure a mei
Quil se garde de cele folage		Que as tu fet encuntrie lor lei
Que li seint home ne seit occis		Ihesu li sire li respund
Car ceo me fu a nuit ausi		Mun regne nest pas de cest mond
Si uos soeffres quil perde vie		Si de cest mund mun regne esteit
Sur tei enuendra la folie		Tant cum li mens poeplez porreit
949 deuz. 950 Porpensa soi li. 967 B. mar. 969 gart. 972 B. Toute la nuit tant que iors. 973 MS. corrected from sesueillait. 974 B. lauison toute fremi. 976 menez. 977 Elle vint tost comme mesages. 978 Gardes uos de faire tel rage. 979 B. sains hom. 982 Sor	nos. 984 Grans manaces tout entresait. 985 nee. 986 espoentee. 988 sans. 990 Signor. 991 que. 994 il ne fust de male. 996 Ne le te. 1001 B. il nest drois mie. 1002 que home ocie. 1006 le ta. 1011 B. Vos gens vos ont. 1014 regnez. 1015 mez regnez.	1000 1004 1008 1012 1016

Il ne me deliurassent mie		De iceste home que auez dampne
Si com ieo crei en ta baillie		A icel mot lont escrie
Meis li mens regnes nest pas cist		Li sancs t li pecchie par dreit
Es tu dunc reis pilate dist	1020	Sor nos t sor noz enfancz seit
Iol sui . tu le diz suuent asez		Pilate uolt al poeple pleire
Io uinc el mond pur ceo fui nez		Ceo quil querent . comande a faire
De uerite porte testimonie		Barraban lur ad deliure
Ne lais pur mort ne por essonie	1024	Ihesum le rei ad comande
Tuz cil qui sont de uerite		Quil seit batuz t leidengiez
Oent ma uoiz de volente		Apres . quil seit crucifiez
<b>D</b> ementers que ihesu parlout		Li cheualers dan pilate
E que pilate lenquerout	1028	Qui erent mult de mal esclate
Li autre iueu unt parle		En une place le menerent
Et a lur gent cumande		Li faus iuev la sasembleren
Barraban funt il . demandez		De ses sainz dras lunt despoillie
E ihesus seit a mort liurez	1032	A une stache lunt lie [fol. 20b, col. 2]
Pilate lur dist a bandun		A correies en funt noees
En ihesum ne truis achaison		El chef de un bastun encloes
Uolez que ieo en leisse aler	[fol. 20b, col. 1]	La gloriuse charn iesu
Volez nos tuz afoler	1036	Batouent a mult grant uertu
Dunc comencent tuz a crier		Mult le ferouent asprement
Barraban feites deliurer		Ieo quid fuit il quil ne sent
Del faus prophete nos uengez		Car il ne nus crie merci
Si quil seit crucifiez	1040	Ne il ne get brai ne cri
<b>P</b> ilate dit quel mal ad feit		<b>Q</b> vant la char deu unt tant batue
Leissez ester funt il icel pleit		Une purpre li unt uestue
Tant ad mal fait que plus ne pot		En sa destre l fuit tenir
Justice grant . faire en estot	1044	Vn dreit Rosel pur escharnir
Pilate ueit que rien ne li ualt		Une corune li unt faite
Meis escrient plus en hault		Ne fud dargent ne dor purtreite
Lewe demande por lauer		Plus fu aspre que nule haire
Issi se quidout ben saluer	1048	Hom ni mist pas douz anz a faire
Ses mains en leue deuant toz		Des aspres espines fut torne
Apres lur dit oez ma uoiz		E espessemement fut reorte
Ieo me demet ci de sa mort		Les espines furent menu
Et de son sanc uos auez tort	1052	Por mal faire sunt trop agu
1021 <b>B.</b> Iel tai dit souuent.	1025 <i>Read</i>	1079 li font.
Tut.	1035 Volez uoz que iel lasse.	1080 <b>B.</b> pour lui escarnir.
1037 tuit.	1053 <b>B.</b> cest.	1084 .iii. ans au.
pechies.	1055 <b>B.</b>	1085 fu ouree.
1063 cheuallier.	1069 A cor-	1086 aornee
roies les ( <i>i. e.</i> mains) ont noees.	giete.	1087 Elle estoit poingnanz
		t menue.
		1088 ague.

El chief la li mettent apres  
 Puis ferent sus od tut un es  
 Des plaies il fuit vint t dous  
 Li sanc en surt par plusors lius  
 Aual sun cors par mi sa face  
 Toz cil sen rient de la place  
 [Trez dauant lui sagenoilloient  
 t a genoil le saluoient]  
 Deus uus saut fuit il sire reis  
 De uos erent tenues leis  
 En mi le uis li escoperent  
 E de lur pasmes le refereient  
 Mult as gardure fere  
 Gardons fuit il que il ne nos fere  
 Par mi le chef le refereient [fol. 21a, col. 1]  
 E des uerges Le bateient 1104  
**Q**uant trestruz lunt asez gabe  
**Q**E debatu t decire  
 Issi cum il ert corunez  
 E de la purpre afublez  
 Pilate lout fors amene  
 A toz ensemble lad mustre  
 Pur rien que faire li puissum  
 Ne truis en lui nul achaism  
 Ne pur batre ne por ferir  
 Ne pur manace de murir  
 Li euesques t li serianzt  
 Li phariseu li mal querant  
 Se escrient tot a une voiz  
 Crucifiez seit en La croiz  
 Uos le pernez ceo dit pilates  
 Silocciez kil me menastes  
 Ne truis en lui nul achaision  
 Par Quei li face si ben non  
 [Cil ont respondu demenois  
 Bien a deference la croix]

1092 sans. 1094 Tuit. 1101 **B.** Car  
 vous aues visage fier. 1105 t quant il  
 lont. 1115 **B.** sergant. 1121 nulle.  
 1125 Read fuit. 1125 est filz de. 1128  
 morir selonc lez. 1129 Qui noz ensain-

	Il dist. fun il . que il est de	
	Al rei del ciel del maieste	
	Nus sauom ben ceo nest pas ueirs	
1092	Cil deit murrir si cum les leis	1128
	Le nus enseigne t deuise	
	Quant la charn seit en croiz mise	
	<b>P</b> ilate ad lur uoiz oie	
1096	Ni ad celui qui la contredie	1132
	Puis li demande dunt estu	
	Deus ne li ad ren respondv	
	Il ne len requert si por ceo nun	
1100	Que truuier i uoleit achaison	1136
	Pilate dit al rei ihesu	
	Diua . que ne me respons tu [fol. 21a, col. 2]	
	Ia siez tu ben mal te puis fere	
	E deliurer si me uoil pleire	1140
	La poeste est deuers moi	
	Ceo que ieo uoldrai faire de tei	
	Deus li respont mult du cement	
1108	De mei nen eusses tu nen	1144
	Ceo sachez ren de poeste	
	Si de autrui ne te fust done	
	Meis cil qui a tei me Luira	
1112	Greignur pecchie de tei aura	1148
	<b>Q</b> uant pilate ot quil dist	
	<b>Q</b> uers les iuels a quere prist	
	Cum faitement deliures fust	
1116	Meis nel fist pas cum il dust	1152
	Que la ne uolsissent il ren	
	Si poust il deliurer ben	
	Seignors fait il car le leissom	
1120	Par deu fuit il nus ne from	1156
	Si tu ihesum leisses en peis	
	Amis cesar ne serras meis	
	Car trestut cil qui rei se fuit	
1124	Cuntre le rei cesar sunt	1160
	gnent t deuiseint. 1130 Que sa chars.	
	1144 tu noiant. 1148 toi en a. 1149	
	oit ce quil. 1152 pas si com. 1153	
	Quar ia nen. 1154 Cel. 1155 Signor.	
	1156 il que nel. 1160 mesfont.	

Quant il ot lur paroles		[Del pumier fu ou crut la pomme
E les suens tenant pur foles		Qui mist a mort le premier homme] 1196
Ihesum fait uenir deuant sei		Hume dist que cipres aueit a non
Ueez ci fait il uostre Rei	1164	Trenchier Le fist li reis salemont
Il escrient a une voiz		Mes carpenter ne poent trouer
Crucifiez seit en la croiz		Que le fust porreit trenchier 1200
Uolez uos que ieo crucifi		Ne fust trop grant . ov trop petiz
Ceo est uostre rei que ueez ici	1168	Unc ne pout estre en oure mis
Par deu funt il nul rei nauon		Kar il attendoit le grant honor
Si cesarem de Rome non* [fol. 21b, col. 1]		De ihesu crist nostre seignor 1204
Cestui uolums que en croiz seit mis*		Par mautealent Li carpenter
Que respit ne seit pris	1172	Le trauerserent el boer [fol. 21b, col. 2]
A icest mot lur ad liure		Mels ualt dient purir ici
Ihesum de sainte maieste		Que estre el temple domini 1208
Si comande que en croiz seit mis		Apres long tens sage sibile
Le filz al rei de parais	1176	Por salemont uint a la uile
Le purpre drap li unt tolu		Par la planche nosa passer
Et de sonz dras lunt reuestu		Tant cremout lewe trobler 1212
Seignurs dit il . fust ov prendrons		Aua sen uait lung de passage
Dunt la croiz faire puissons	1180	Ben se parceut tant par fu sage
Ne uos chaut de bele croiz faire		Que la charn deu i serrait lase
Meis faites cele planche traire		Encline a lui par aual passe 1216
Dicel ruissel qui la purrist		O Re reparlom de la dolur
Mult ad grant tens que hom le mist	1184	Que suffri deu pur nostre amur
De tot en tot li hunissum		Fors del boer la planche unt treite
De quanque faire Li puissum		Li faus iuev la croiz unt faite 1220
Le fust funt traire del boer		Ni a celui qui porter le dei
En douz pieces funt coupier	1188	Ainz dient que atent a moi
E cil seint fust qui la fu pris		Que li face tant honur t seruisse
Fud aporte de parais		Desur le col ihesu lunt mise 1224
Vn filz adam len aporta		[Il est bien drois que il le port
Un seint angle la li dona	1192	Quant desour li sousferra mort]
Ki a ssa flambeiant espee		Demandent sont les clous forgez
De parais gardout lentre		Nenil . al feure tost alez 1228
1161 oit que ces.	1162 Sont des iuis	il peust estre aloues. 1201 grans. 1202 B.
tenues.	1167 que le crucifi; MS.	Il fust assis trop a en uis. 1203 la.
corrected from crucifie.	1172 respis nen.	1207 B. vaus tu font il pourrir. 1210 uint en
1179 Sire font il.	1184 on li.	la. 1213 Aual sen va loins del. 1216 S.
1189 B. sains.	1190 Aportes fu.	encline soi par. 1218 deus. 1221 porter la
vns des angeles.	1193 C. a sa.	daint. 1223 tant de seruisse. 1225-6 supplied
supplied from B.	1197 B. On.	from B. 1227 B. li clau fait.
Ne pot li leuz estre trouuez.	1200 B. Ou	

A la forge sen uunt tot dreit		Dient donc . cist pot porter	
Quant israel uenir les vait		La croiz ihesu por tost aler	1264
Ses mains repunt si est asis		Seignors fait il por deu merci	
Ne fra nul ceo mest ausis	1232	Ne puis tant demorer ici	
Danz feures distrent la male gent		Oez dun veillard quil ad dit	
Treis clous faites ignelement		Pernez le tost sanz contredit	
Ihesum uolum crucifier		Ov il deignast . ov il ne uolsist	
Quil ne puise meis regner	1236	La croiz ihesu sur sun col mist	
Seignors dist il mal ai as meins		Il la porta sin out grant ire	
Mult ad grant tens que ne fui seins		Mais ne losa pas contredire	1272
[Signor fait il ie me sui cuis		Vne turbe de la cite	
Mostrez uoz mains . sire ne puis	1240	Feseient dol ensiwant de	
Por quoi diauble ne poes		Ki aider ne le poeint	
Toz ai fait il les dois enflez]		Mes durement le pleignaient	1276
Par le grant deu si nes mustressz		Femmes t homes i aueit	
Tost serrez mort t afolez	1244	Deus les garde quis oiait	
Cil traist ses mains car pour out	[f. 22a, col. 1]	As dames ad dit sa reison	
Tutes deffeteis cum deu plout		Les filles israel par non [fol. 22a, col. 2]	
Sa male femme od quer fals		Ne plurez pas dist il por mei	
Tost dist ele uos est pris mals	1248	Kar ieo uois la ov aler dei	
[Il na ancor ce mult pou non		Meis de uus t de uosz enfanz	
Quentre uos t moi forgion]		Deit estre plurs t dolurs granz	1284
Ne remeindra por ton desheit		Li tens serra t Li iursz serrunt	
Que Li treis clous ne soient feit	1252	Meis ceo ert tart quil dirrunt	
Le feure les taneilles prist		Las dolenz mar fumes nez	
Desur la brese ardanx les mist		Mar fumes unkes engendrez	1288
Le fu soffla od les dous fols		[Perre por coi nos engendrastes]	
Od le martel ad feit les clos	1256	Mere por coi nos alaitastes]	
As fals iuels les ad liure		Mult poent auer ioie grant	
Cil les unt mult tost aperte		Celas unkes nurent enfant	1292
Venuz en sunt la . ov ihesum		Terre t mund sur nus chaiez	
En menouent li malueis hom	1260	Occiez nus t repunez	
<b>S</b> imon uns hom iuste en passout		Ke cest dolur ne veuns	
Por son afere sen astout		E sul dire ne la puissuns	1296
1231 si cest. 1237 Signor. 1237 B.		1259 Venu. 1260 li felon.	1265 Signor.
ai es. 1244 mors ce uos mentes. 1246 B.		1268 la. 1269 il uossist.	1275 ne li.
Toutes lepreuses. 1247 ot le cuer.		1280 B. Filles iherusalem.	1285 ior.
1248 B. est venus. 1251 B. remanra ia		1287 ne. 1288 engendre.	1292 B. Celest
por tel plait. 1252 B. troi clau. 1253		qui ainc norent.	1293 mons.
Le fer o les. 1254 la forge le. 1256 A		1295 ceste.	1296 t trespasser le poissons.
son martel. 1257 liures. 1258 portes.			

Iceo dirrunt il ueirement		Ici pend li reis des iuels	
Ainz que uenge al iugement		Ihesus christus nazarenus	1332
La ou li angle tremblerunt		[Apres escrist rois des Iuys	
De La dolur quil verrunt	1300	Il li dient nest pas bien mis]	
D e ceo filles uus purpensez		Cil dient escrif . quil diseit	
D e ceo plaignez de ceo plurez		Quil des iuels reis esteit	1336
De moi laissez Le dol ester	1304	Pilate li respunt si ad dit	
Car ne me poez returner		Ore remaine ceo que ai escrit	
De quanque deu lor sermonast		Hure de terce tot dreit esteit	
Ni out un sul qui samendast		Quant en la croiz hom deu pendeit	1340
Les fals iuels qui len menouent		Pur els fist deus un vreison	
Ainz se gabouent + Riouent	1308	Ke ne li funt si hunte non	
Il en menouent douz larrons		Pere dist il qui es amont	
Ensemble od lui si come lisoms		Pardonez lur ceo quil font	1344
Pur tormenter ouec ihesu		Il ne seuent a escient	
En golgata en sunt venu	1312	Quil se font la fole gent	
La croiz al rei primes drescerent		At tant ad fine sa praiere	
De ses seins dras le despouillerent		Pur cele gent qui tant ert fere	1348
Entre els le partent li felun [f. 22b, col. 1]		Iuste la croiz esteit marie	
Seignors feit un sort en iettun	1316	La sue mere tot esbaie [fol. 22b, col. 2]	
Sort unt iette des dras ihesu		[Si ert marie cleophe	
Ne sai li quel en ad li plus ev		+ marie magdalene]	1352
Ignele pas unt ihesum pris		E multes altres i esteient	
Sus en la croiz tot dreit lunt mis	1320	Ki seinte marie surueient	
Es palmes li ferent les clous		Ki de amouent + creient	
Les clous mettent par mi les os		Et qui dolentes esteient	1356
Par les pleies en sault li sanc		Sur totes en ert angoissuse	
Aual le char iuste le flanc	1324	La sue mere gloriuse	
Un clou fichent par mi les pez		Nest pas merueille si ele est ire	
Or est ihesu crucefiez		Ecsiceufe + enpeire	1360
Uns des larruns pendeit a destre		Qui en sun uentre le porta	
Li autre pendeit a senestre	1328	Et qui sen dolur lenfanta	
Pilate sur le croiz escrit		E qui pur nos morir deigna	
Si cum li ewangile dit		Par qui Li mud sauue serra	1364

1298 quil vaignent. 1305 deuz.  
 1307 Des fauz. 1315 Antrax les.  
 1316 Diua font il les loz ietons. 1317 gete  
 sor les. 1318 Read le plus. 1323 B.  
 les paumes en saut li sans. 1324 Quaual  
 li cort parmi les flans. 1328 B. autres.  
 1330 B. ewangiles. 1333-4 supplied

from B. 1337 Pilates lor. 1338 B. Chou  
 que iai escrit est escrit. 1341 yne.  
 1342 Qui. 1344 Pardonne. 1347 Read  
 Atant ad fini. 1359 B. irie. 1360 B.  
 t courechouse + empirie. 1362 sans.  
 1364 mons saluez.

<b>Q</b> uant la dame e la croiz li vit Merueilluse pitie i en prist		Dunc creiereient en toi tot li plus 1400
Dunc parla si cum orrez		Li maistres dient de la lei
Si enquere dire le volez	1368	Que poet estre de cest rei
Beals filz dit ele amis ihesu		Les autres fait resusciter
En la croiz pur quei penz tu		Sei meismes ne pot aider
Ia estu deu de tute rien		Ia dist quil est filz deu
E reis t sire de tuz ben	1372	Ore uerrom nus La verite
Merci aez beal sire de moi		Puis quil en deu tant sa safie
Coment remeindrai apres tei		Si li gard deus sil uolt sa vie
<b>D</b> eus dist pur ceo penz ieo ici Qui si la ueie establi	1376	Uns des larrons qui la pendeit
Ie sui pur ceo cruciez		Deu blastenious si li diseit
Par mi mes mains t par mi mes pez		Si tu es deu . e tu ren vals
Que li poeple sals puise estre		Car fai or tei e nos toz sals
En parais asis a destre	1380	Deluire nos de cest mort
Mere ueez Iohanan en liv de moi		Ceo dit li autre tu as tort
Cum tis filz seit ensemble od tei		Il ne sueffre pas ceo quil deit
Sein iohan li ewangelister		Meis nos i sumes ben a dreit
Esteit iloc soen bon menistrer	1384	[Ainz ne feismes ce mal non
Iohan dist li nostre pere [fol. 23a, col. 1]		Si est bien drois que noz laions
Gardez le ben veez ci ta mere		Mais il ne forfist onques rien
Tu seiez deshore en auant		Ainsois a fait toz les iors bien]
Ensemble od lui ieo te comant	1388	1420
Sire ieo ferei tun pleisir		Dunc prie deu remembre tei
Grant dol ai quant te uei morir		En tun regne pur deu de moi [f. 23a, col. 2]
Cil qui deu aiment grant dol funt		[Hui en cest ior fait il amis
Li faus iuev iloc sestunt	1392	Ceras o moi en paradis
Deuant lui passent t seent		Loure de midi fu oscure
Lur chefs croulent e si dient		Li monde t toute creature]
Cest cil qui le temple abatera		Dunc perdit li soleil sa clarte
E en treis iorz refait laura	1396	Entur midi uint loscurte
Si est filz al rei la mund		Tenebres sont par tot le mond
E si deit saluer le mund		La gent pour e grant dol unt
De cel croiz descend ius		[Grant paour ont t grant dolor
		Toute ioie est tornee en plor
		Iusques a nōne a ce dire
		Les tenebres t locurtes]

1365 dame en. 1368 Read enquere.  
 1371 deuz. 1372 B. tout. 1373 Biax  
 filz aies merci de. 1375 pent. 1376 B.  
 Que esgarder le voel issi. 1377 Read  
 crucifiez. 1379 Read poeplez. 1383 Sains  
 iehans li euuangelistes. 1384 illuc li bons

menistres. 1386 Garde la bien vez;  
 MS. sa deleted before ci. 1387 Soies. 1397  
 roi dou. 1401 maistre. 1407 que il tant  
 an deu ce fie. 1410 blasmoit. 1411 deuz.  
 1413 ceste. 1414 autres. 1427 Touz est  
 li iors en nuit muez.

Ihesus le filz seinte marie		Que tute creature pest
A duce uoiz . e issi escrie	1436	Cil ad dit consumatum est
Il dist hely . + heloy		Es meins men piere puissant
Pere porquei mas tu guerpi		Mun espirit Li comant
Li faus iuev qui lont oi		Lores enclina soen chef ius
Trestoz sesscrient a un cri	1440	Li espirit sen est issuuz
Il apele funt helie		Issuz est si com il le uoleit
Que il lui uienge en aie		En enfern est ale tot dreit
<b>D</b> eus dist ieo ai sai; a beiure prie		[Denfer brisa les serreures
Ia ne fust dreit dient iev	1444	+ rompi totes les clostures
Ne seuent pas la gent fole		Fors en geta sa compaignie
Que deu diseit par sa parole		Qi par diable estoit rauie
Sa sei esteit pur nus saluer		Si la conduit a son chier pere
E les sons fors denfern ietter	1448	En la gloriose lumere]
Meis que li fist la iuerie		Terremote est par tot le mond
Or oez la grant diable		E les peres trenche sunt.
Mirre pristrent + suie + fel		Li monument font auuert
Ben se gardent ni eust mel	1452	E mettent le saint cors iloc tot apert
Mult forment le font destemprer		Qui longement dormi aueient
E durement le font amer		De lur sepulcre en eisseient
A dampnedeu en font present		De lur monument sont issu
Beuez font il dicest piment	1456	Puis le resurdelement ihesu
Deus en gusta . sil sent amer		Uindrent en la seinte cite
Que il ne uolt le col passer		A plusur gent en unt parle
Nel esparniez font il beuez		Centurio uns hom esteit
Nus en auom encore asez	1460	Qui od deu soen curage aueit
Taisez ceo dist la iverie		Ensemble od lui meint altre esteient
Saluer sa vie . vendreit helie		Qui deu amouent + cremeient
Li prophetes quil appela [fol. 23b, col. 1]		Uirent terremote entressait
Bien tost de la croiz lostera	1464	E ces choses que deus out feit
Or ni uolt mais ester		Lores se cremerent dorement
De cest sen uolt aler		E distrent entrels belement
Or escultez quad en la fin		Ceo sachez tut de uerite
Io uos dirrai en latin	1468	Que cist esteit le filz de [fol. 23b, col. 2]

1435 li. 1436 voix si cescrie.  
 1440 Read Trestut. 1441 font il helye.  
 1442 B. en son aie. 1443 a boiuere ares.  
 1444 E. Font li Juif ja ni faudroiz. 1446  
 deuz. 1458 nen pot le. 1462 B. Sauoir  
 se la venroit. 1466 cest siecle cen.  
 1474 esperis. 1476 ales. 1477-82 sup-

plied from E.; in O these verses follow v.  
 1594; see above, pp. 52-3. 1484 pierres fen-  
 dues. 1485 sont ouert. 1486 t li saint  
 cors sont descouert. 1488 sepulcere sen.  
 1490 Por le. 1494 Qui vers deu bon corage.  
 1496 MS. amouent corrected from cremeouent.  
 1498 Read faites. 1502 li.

E tant tost com uint al seir Ihosep un riches hom dauoir Il meismes disciple esteit Al rei ihesu donc dol aueit A pilate cil sen ala Le cors ihesu li demanda E pilates ad cumande A rendre lui ceo ad roue En icel tens custome esteit Que nul hom en croiz pendreit Puis la uespere del samadi Pur La feste del uendresdi E pur ceste chose haster Uindrent a pilate pur demander Que face les quisses briser A cels quad feit crucefier E puis le face hom oster Li cheualer i uint garder	1504	Beals sire deus par ta piete Ne me stabliez cest en pecchie Que ieo ai fait nel soi nent Sire mult ai le quer dolent Bati sa culpe merci cria	1540
	1508	E ihesu crist li pardona Ihoseph al saint cors sesprisma Dun sindone Le uolupa Nichodemus Li uint aider	1544
	1512	Qui deu amout . e teneit cher E porta un cher oignement Mirre + aloes ben liures cent Il laturnerent seintement De dras + de aromatizement	1548
	1516	Si cum ert custome al murir As iuels de mort ensepelir Uns curtilz ert ou nostre sire Suffri por nos gref martire	1552
	1520	En le curtil ert le momunenz Ainz nul nauoit este mis dedenz Vne pere a lus turnerent	1556
	1524	E del monument puis sen alerent	1560
		Al autre iur <i>quant uirent</i> Liv Sasemblarent Li pharisev	
	1528	E tuit li prince de la lei Deuant pilate a grant esfrei	1564
		Oez sire ceo sachez uus Recordre auom entre nus	
		Que cil sodoitre nus deseit	
	1532	Que entre <i>nos</i> encore uiuerait [f. 24a, col. 2] Puis que crucifie serreit	
		E apres treis iurz releuerait	
		Iceo te uoluns muster	
	1536	Fai ben le sepulcre garder	1572
		Comande quil soit ben garde	
		Tant que li ior soit passe	

1504 *Read* uns. 1505 *Read* disciples.  
1510 ce que. 1512 nulz en la croiz ne  
pendoit. 1517 Quil. 1519 puis les.  
1520 uont. 1521 As. ii. larrons les lor

froisserent. 1528 Vne. 1530 chascuns  
latise. 1557 *Read* li. 1558 Nus.  
1567 disoit. 1569 crucifiez. 1573 *Read*  
gardes. 1574 *Read* iors soit passes.

Que ne uengent par auenture		Ales de sil esgardez	
Si disciple qui prengent cure	1576	Al mielz que uus unques saurez	
De li embler celelement		Cil sen alerent aprester	
E puis dient comunalment		Pur le sepulchre ben garder	1588.
Al poeple pur auoir confort		La pere selent de lus	
Quil est resuscite de mort	1580	Od les gardes qui sont de sus	
E cist errur de rein		Si cum li treis iurz sont uenuz	
Nus ert peiur del premerein		Quant deu plout sen est issuz	1592:
Pilate lur respunt t dit		Meis pur nient se penerent issi	
Auez encore gardes eslit	1584	Kar quant deu uoleit sen issi . . .	
1575 Que ni. 1580 resucites. 1585 de ci t le. 1591 Read trei iur sont venu.		1594 Read deus; for end of O see above, vol. II, pp. 50-51.	

# VARIANTS AND FRAGMENTS.

## 1. RAWLINSON MS. C. 655 (C)

[The portions of Rawlinson C 655 which do not occur in the other MSS. are printed below in full. Of other passages the variants are given from **Ad**, which may be found in the second column of the parallel texts in Volume I. For the Cross Story (vv. 1297–1438) the variants are from **G<sub>1</sub>**, printed in the second column of Vol. I, pp. 134–141].

A	Lle þat leueþ on Ihesu crist*	1*	þe heuene oponed þurȝt godes myȝte
	Vor his loue þanne haueþ list		þe holy gost on him lyȝte
	Euerich word it is gospelle * <small>[fol. 1a]</small>		Seint lucas in doue licesse
	Listneþ now wat y wol telle	4*	And seint Marke bereþ þer of witnesse
	Wat ihesu þolede for þe + þine		And þan of him was yhurde a steuene
	þe to bringe of helle pyne		þat com fro þe king fadur of heuene 32*
	þat þow haue his pyne in þoȝte		þis is my sone lef + dere
	þat þe haueþ so dere yþoȝte	8*	In him me likes to wone here
	And be aboute þe loue to wynne		þe holy gost ihesu radde
	Off ihesu þat þe lafte of synne		And into Wildurnusse him ladde 36*
	þrittyen wynter + þridde halue ȝere		He fondet to be a souþfast man
	Ihesu lyuede on londe here	12*	Of him þat fondinge furst bygan
	So longe he was in wretched lyf pis		In Wildernusse was is fondinge
	þat hym longede til his fadur blys		Forty days in fasting
	þan went ihesu to floum iurdan		40*
	To be baptist of seyn Ion	16*	And xl. niȝtes so says þe bok * <small>[fol. 2a]</small>
	Sente Ion saide now þow comest to Me		And afterward honger him tok
	And y ssolle be babstisud of þe		þanne com þe deuel Ihesu to fonde*
	Ihesu him sayde be þow stille		And broȝte stones in is honde 44*
V[s behoueþ]	to fulfille	20*	If þow be godes sone
	þe speche of þe Holy profesye	<small>[fol. 1b]</small>	Schewe þow now anoþer wone
	þe wile he saide off ysaye		And þis stones turne in to bred
	þere riȝt wyslyche saint Ion		Ihesu ansswered in to þat qued 48*
	Babtizet ihesu in flom iurdan		Alle one lyueþ man noȝt in brede
	Out of þe flom wenne ihesu ȝede		Lyu but by godes rede
	Als we in þe gospel redeþ		Wy[t] goddes word + godes speche
			þat to mannes saul es leche
			52*

3\* is *interlined*.

22\* he and off *interlined*.

49\* lyueþ man *interlined*.

50\* After Lyu 8 or 9 letters erased.

52\* is (?) *interlined after saul es.*

Wan he ihesu wiþ no wile Miȝte of glotenye him bygile Him to fonde of pruyde he þoȝte And to a temple he him broȝte	56*	Man wise + war in dede And of þe deuel euere haue god dredre	[fol. 3a]
And on a heyȝ pinakele he him sette And on his wise he him grette þif þow be godes sone adon liȝt Off þe pynakul þorþ py miȝt	60*	Vor he fondaþ wiþ his ginne Hym þat neuere dide senne Wel þow May wite by þar þat wil he spare no senful man	92*
Off þe pynakul þorþ py miȝt Vor ofte it is ywryte in a stede þat god to his angelis aues bede þe to bere + þe to queme	64*	ffonde he wile þe in senne caste But þow aȝen him stonde faste And do þy siȝt of ihesu misse And out þe kaste of heuen blisse	96*
And vor falling þe to ȝeme þat þow spernes at no ston þy fote to hurte ne þy tone	[fol. 2b]	ffor þus vs sayn and lere Seynt peter if we wolle hem hire þe deuel he sais þat is oure fo He ffineþ neuere abowte to go	100*
Hit is writhen ihesu hou him saide þat þow ne ssalt þy lord of broide	68*	Als he may is praye finde Wanne he may in senne binde	104*
Ne þy god fonde wan þow ssalt dredre		In trewþe we schal aȝen him fiȝte þat in vs he haueþ no miȝte	
In alle þy werkes in alle þy nede Of him wente þe foule quede Ihesu to bringe to sunful rede And him by þoȝte on alle wise	72*	Seynt bernarde saieþ he may to fonde Bote in þe it is to falle or stonde	108*
Ihesu to fonde of couetyse þan ladde he him on hey doune And him schewed boþe felde + toune Wod + water mede + grasse	77*	He may þe egge + in to sunne till Bote in þe hit is to grante him his wille	
And alle þat euere in erþe was Alle þis he saide y wolle giue þe þat þow don falle + honore me To him gan þanne ihesu say	80*	Here wole ihesu no longer dwelle*	
Satanas þow go þy way God þy lord þow schalt honore And alle one serue + oure þe deuel left þere	84*	þ for of saint Ion he herde telle	112*
And wiþ ihesu he spak namore Angelus come to his seruise Ihesu to serue on alle wise	88*	þat Eraud þe king him haueþ yfonden	[fol. 3b]
		And in prison faste ybonden	
		þat ihesu bygan to preche	
		In galile þat folke to teche	116*
		Penans to do + leue senne	
		And heueñe riche to winne	
		By þe see syde als ihesu ȝede	
		Wiþ his lore þe folke to fede	120*
		þe men he seȝt nettus slake	
		Into þe see fysse to take	
		þat on was peter andreu þat oper	

83\* It of schalt interlined.

85\* t of left interlined.

90\* god corrected from gyw.

98\* A half-erased lewe[d]e in an earlier hand is just visible above the line.

109\* + interlined.

þat was fisser so was is broþer Ihesu hem bad after him gon And þey left here bot anon þar nettes walweþ þat ssolde hem fede And at word wiþ ihesu ȝede	124*	þat here pouert sofrep stille And here in herte sofrep nede Heueñe blis ssal be hire mede þe poure in herte be sely Blessed be þe man of mersy	160*
fforþer more as he gan gon Iames he sawe t his breþer Ion þar nettes drienden by þe see side And of fissinge þe tyme abyde	128*	So be he þat wiþ riȝt him ledes And he þat wepes for his misdedes Als haue he my blessinge þat his herte ȝyueþ fro euel þing	164*
Ihesu hem bad hii ssolde him folwe Euere mo wiþ outer any sorwe Syþene hii lete hore nettes ffalle [fol. 4a]	132*	And þey þat put loue bytwene And for riche soffryeþ tene þe þat haueþ schame for þe loue of me And be missaid blessed þey be	168*
And went fforþe wit alle Alle þat haueþ nette t bote Wiþ ihesu hii ȝede foute hote þanne ȝede ihesu in þat contre	136*	Takeþ it wiþ Ioye t mekkenesse þe hours beþ þat heuen blisse þer vore man ȝenke to fulfille Wiþ þy miȝt goddes wille	172*
Prechande þe folke of galile Ho so were in senne yfallen Wiþ his word he helden alle Wode crooked t blinde	140*	Be poure meke t bonere Clene in saule of faire answere Sone pes t mersy folwe To hom þat beþ in alle sorwe	176*
Alle þat he Miȝte þer finde þe folke him fallen al abote Of þat contre wiþ grete route Som were wikked t some goude	144*	Byde to god t wep vor þy misdede* And he wile ȝiue þe þy mede * [fol. 5a]	180*
Sum him folwede for liues fode	148*	Of Ioye t blisse in gode likinge And heuen blisse at þy endinge	184*
Sum him folwede to haue rich ȝynge Som him folwed to se heuen kinge Somme him folud som gode to lere Som him folwede þinges to here	152*	How ihesu þe londe þorȝt ȝede In honger t þurst in pouert wede t alle is oþer dedes to telle Hit were ouer long aboute to dwelle	188*
Wat þey miȝte on him leye To þe Iuws vorto wrey Wan ihesu say þo folke him neye Apon a hille he sat an hey	156*	Q wat hit neyede þe day Of paske þorowe out þe lay Of Moises men schulde telle	192*
And by gan þe folke to preke On his manere he gan hem theche* Blessed be þe poure in wille	*[fol. 4b]	A loumbe wiþ outer wem t sselle þat lombe token wiþ outer sak þat goddes sone schulde betake And þe demes men him led Him to pine t do to ded	196*

129\* as corrected from was.

136\* ihesu interlined after wit.

137\* hii erased after þat.

138\* And erased before wiþ.

149\* MS. þymge.

151\* folud interlined.

158\* c of theche written over k.

165\* after him 4 or 5 letters erased.

7 y wolle ȝow. 9 Als Mark luk Mattheu t. 10 þer þey cordede. 11 þe  
holy lawus. 13 spredde wyde. 14 ffer t nere longe t side. 15 hauedon  
of. 16 sayde ferede. 17 To gedere þey gon so stille. 19 hem a.  
20 poure Most. 21 sareȝinus. 22 þe Iuws dide. 23 of þe. 25 þus  
gone. 26 seyde hem among echone. 29 profecye gan he rime. 31 seide  
to. 32 wat wille. 34 þe folke be. 35 seieþ. 36 tok it to enuie.  
37 hauueþ. 38 gost hit haued him. 40 Ihesu þey þoȝte alle away. 41 wille  
þey. 42 þat romaynis com to don vs wrong. 43 fest fel on honde. 44 þat  
ester day was cleded in. 45 honourede þe. 46 poure Most. 47 Byfore  
pat. 48 Off ihesu alle þey seide. 50 and omitted. 51 Bute þey. 52 were  
gon. 53 cry scolde. 54 Ne noyse on nokinnes wise. 56 þat daye to do no  
man to dede. 57 þe sexte day by fore þis. 59 cete gon. 60 þoȝte by leue  
a. 62 And þey ssolde on. 65 þey ssolde. 66 An old best. 68 þe les  
hire Men ssald þoȝt þole. 70 to þaþ syte. 71 dessiplus gonne. 74 him  
layde. 76 To þat site gan he wende. 78 ihesu come þat ilke way. 79 þey  
clypede him wiþ oute toune. vv. 87-88 follow v. 80. 87 bygan to.  
82 cloþes byfore him spredde. 83 floures I wete. 84 To laye byfore.  
86 of þe pal[m]. vv. 86a-86n inserted :—

Blessed be þou þat here come  
In þe name of godes sone  
Wenne ihesu sawe þat ilke dede  
Wiþ is herte he com grete  
And saide if ȝe hit wist  
And best ȝif hem list  
MIcht al sore drede  
And teres of rede blod lete  
þis profecye was so vncouþe  
þat ihesu sayde wiþ is Mowþe  
ffiftene + fiftene were for a peny ysold  
þorȝ þe iuwes by tale ytold  
Bote of sibbe + of coupe  
þat was graued porwe his Mouþe.

89 lygget. 91 wiþ houte weyee. 92 way into. 93 By þe strete þere he  
com blyue. 95 haueþ þe lasar. 96 Micael was þer for preysod. 98 to  
toune faste to. 99 þey come. 101 He festede hem þere by dene. 102 and

16 cbrwes (?) written above line in earlier hand. 33 Ale erased before byforne. 86e hem  
erased after And. 86f ze (?) erased after best. 86g ani interlined after Micht. 86l MS.  
read bewes; þe deleted and iu written above. 93 gan riue erased and cō blyue written above.  
97 alle deleted before Meke.

omitted. 104 þat he hauede. 105 ihesu Mercy he wolde haue. 106 adon.  
 107 He knewlede don to wesche. 110 sunnus was hire herte sore. 112 He  
 tok hit forþ wil ful god grete. 114 crieþ. 116 soffred hire eche. 117 þat  
 anontid was. 118 he anontide wiþ his. 119 it spradde wyde. 121 desiple  
 was þere inne. 122 wiþ senne. vv. 125–126 omitted. 127 saide þou.  
 128 þou lates þis onement to spille. 129 ssolde penies. 130 ȝiuen to poure  
 Mannes foude. 131 There for seide Iudas noȝt. 132 fflore of poure he ne  
 þoȝt. 133 answerede to þat. 134 With omitted. 135 Men ssal. 136 al-  
 mosse dede to. 137 He may þem do After. 138 Letes þem. 139 ȝe  
 sulle noȝt haue Me ful longe. 140 wimman haue pis wrong. 141 ȝe haue.  
 142 It ssal. 143 dedes. 144 to haue. vv. 144a–144b inserted:

At My biriinge ssal þe se  
 þat hire dedes gode be.

145 herde þe. 146 sorwe gon he sek. 147 He saide t Mened. 148 Alle  
 þat. 150 forto telle. 154 He tok þe way to. 155 sone fonde. 156 Moste  
 prins. 157 Iues he saide ȝiueþ Me Mede. 158 And y ȝou ssal to ih[es]u lede.  
 159 ȝe loue. 160 To selle him ȝou is. 161 Wenne þe iues þat word.  
 165 platus sone. 167 Wenne he haueþ. 168 soht ihesu wiþ. 170 þey  
 ne wiste noȝt of is playes. 173 fest hende. 176 And asked. 178 go  
 grejþe it Most. 179 Ihesu crist answerede anon. 181 seieþ t ȝe ssulle Mete.  
 183 to in geþ. 185 of þat. 187 him ssolle ȝe speke. 188 come nou sone.  
 189 He wole feste in pis halle. vv. 193–194 lacking. 195 ssalt þou grey.  
 196 gode as May. 198 To þat site gon þei. 199 Alls þey. 200 herte  
 gladde. 201 Mete gret. 203 wanne þis Mete. 204 entrede se þe bok sait.  
 205 at þe. 206 He bad hem sitte alle at. 207 sette hem wiþoute fleting.  
 208 þey dide. 211 him self ete. 212 treison wolde he noȝt. 214 of þe.  
 215 lay him by. 217 it wiþ honde. 218 his ffrende. 220 ȝou schelde fro  
 euel dede. 222 þere þorwe. 223 tok þe wyn. 225 Drinkoþ he seide it doþ.  
 226 þe drinke of liue. 232 ffor ȝoure loue ssal hit ytraid. 233 ffor Make.  
 236 ȝe Make. 237 lawes sal hit be. 238 þat ȝe wille holde. 239 ssal y ete.  
 240 Tille y haue be wide ȝore. 242 ffor omitted. 243 profecye seieþ.  
 244 on rode. vv. 247 and 248 transposed. 247 Me he haueþ þe penanse  
 taken. 249 Alle þey. vv. 250a–250b inserted:

Ihesu crist seide anon  
 To his decisiplis euerich one.

252 were beter he were onborne. 253 Wanne his deciples herd þat. 254 þey  
 quoken alle grete. 257 þey keston vp. 258 Maister þey seiede was.

106 haue deleted and craue written above. 111 hire wiþ erased and fful meke written in  
 margin. 134 sawe deleted and lawe written in. 147 in interlined. 154 þort deleted  
 and tok interlined. 183 goþ deleted after he. 198 ey of þey deleted and ei written above.  
 250b euerich one corrected from euerilkone.

*vv. 259–260 transposed.* 259 He saide to þem wiþ wordes stille. 260 þanne spak ihesu after. 261 Me sulf eteþ. 262 wombe he nis noȝt forgeteþ. 263 traed. 264 him wel yse. 265 herde þat. 266 He ros + sturte fro. 267 Iudas aswiþe Made a crye. 269 answerede him ywis. 273 lenede on Ihesu. 275 Sone þo he. 279 Angelus he let him þere yse. 280 And manye oþer priuite. *vv. 281–282 transposed.* 281 Of god omitted. 282 Off god himself he haueþ a syȝte. 283 Many selkouþ þinge. *vv. 285–286 transposed.* 285 ffor his witte was ful goude. 287 Wanne he walkede faire. 288 cowþe recorde it eche. 290 So clerekus haueþ in. 291 is apocalipcis. 292 fful of selkouþe þinges ywis. 294 On anouþer þinge y Mod dwelle. 299 ssulde Moste be. 300 Of Maisterreye or of. 302 childe þat was Meke. 303 þis child. 304 þinked he saide þat ȝe. 305 strif May ȝow helpe noȝt. 306 ȝou to anoþer. 307 Mild ȝe ouus be. 308 So is þis child ȝe. *vv. 309–310 lacking.* 311 simpul. 312 In heuene he ssal. 313 I can noȝt. 314 Me hye wiþ. 316 In wat þing so ȝe to. 317 Takeþ ensample of Me. 318 byhoueþ Milde to. 319 And ȝou by houeþ suffere. 322 To peter. 323 ert ful Mek. 324 Mander no. 326 And omitted. 327 Comforte þine 329 haueþ. 330 ros vp fro. 333 And omitted. 334 On his knes gan he don. 335 peter þerehe set. 336 saiþ he. 337 Peter said nay. 338 þou ssalt. 339 It falleþ noȝt onto. 340 seruise haue. 341 seiþ ihesu bote y do. 342 blis longeþ þe noȝt to. *vv. 343–344 inserted:*

Peter seid + oþer mo  
þat part wolle we noȝt forgo.

345 Petir said omitted. 347 And forgete þou noȝt þe. 351 siþen wiped hem wiþ. 352 seruise was hem noȝt. 354 setteþ him doun hem by twene. 355 sayþ as he him doun. 356 done nou wite ȝe wat. *vv. 357–358 omitted.* 359 þou I. 360 Byfore omitted. 361 ȝoure fet. 366 Mild þe wile ȝe. 367 Loue I ssal ȝou ȝiue to. 368 heuen cloþe ȝou t. 369 Alle þe. 370 In pine or in eny sorwe to be. 371 þey cloþed be. 372 In Ioie + blisse to wone wiþ Me. 373 wiþ his wille. 374 I ssal. 375 for Mine sake. 376 Spake of þe deþe. 378 be fro ȝou ylad. 380 ȝou forsake [me.] 381 Alle ywriten as y. 382 goþ by þe way. *vv. 383–384 transposed.* 384 he fondeþ t. *vv. 384a–384d inserted:*

Wiþ outen þere comeþ his fo  
And knoweþ him þere + goþ him fro  
þe cheþ wanne he hem may noȝt wilde  
Sprede aboute on þe felde.

387 to deþe. 388 ffor now sswiche þe. 390 rise fro ded þe. 392 þe londe of. 394 bo in bale. 396 þou haueste seid to. 397 were so þou gost. 398 frendes or þin. 400 and omitted. 402 Sal Me noman reue þat. 403 þus seid. 404 sat. 405 herken to here sawe. 406 saip. 407 þing y wille grante. 408 A stonde þat þou folwe. 409 þriis or þe kok haue krowen. 410 ssalt forsake þou haueste wounen. 411 Hos nou so alls I ȝou. 412 þat ȝou. 416 Bye he him a. 417 seiþ þe þat stondeþ by side. 419 swerdus þo. 420 wepen goude also. 421 answered ful stille. 422 is noȝt tille My wille. 423 Ryseþ he seide t. 424 wole we. 425 here wey. 426 þe hate omitted. 427 þanne spak Ihesu ful stille. 429 Here ȝe ssal me. 430 Tille þat I go. 431 haue som del to. 433 Wiþ his word he. 434 him þe postelus hende. 436 Echon loued he More þa[n]. 437 ledeþ. 440 Here ȝe ssulle abide Me. 441 slep ȝe noȝt beþ. 442 flesh for drede is quakande. 443 Wanne þis word was saide anon. 444 ȝede forþ þe kaste. 445 To a hille forre. 446 he sette him adoune. 447 He bygan anone to. 448 þe fader of heuen heȝest. 449 saip. 451 it by houeþ so. 452 þat y ssal nedinge þerto. 453 to þy. 454 In herte boþ loud t stille. 455 Wanne he haueþ saied he sikeþ. 456 Muchel More. 457 dar wel saye. vv.  
 458a-458d inserted :

Kinde it ȝafe of is Manhed  
 þat hard deþ forto dred  
 Bot riȝtwisnesse of his godnes wolde  
 þat he for Mankende deye schold.

459 com doune. 460 fro þe heuen. 461 Ihesu wel stille. 462 ffor omitted. 464 To his desiples gan he gone. 466 Hem haued. 468 first gon he kalle. 470 ȝou comandede wan y. 471 May. 472 Som dele of My sorwe to. 473 and biddeþ. 475 seied t sone. 476 way þere he haued to gone. 479 knes hette him doune wepinde. 485 wolde noȝt hem kalle. 486 He ȝede and lefte hem slepand. 488 Of his erand fullyche to. 489 ffader he seide y haue yserued no ded. 490 Do y wolle after. 491 hit May. 494 desciples forto kalle. 496 siþen þe oþer heuerychon. 497 haueþ. 498 Bot omitted. 501 vp for. 505 Satanas þy frend is he noȝt. 506 þe drawe to iuel þoȝt. 507 so beden. 509 wat so wile byfalle. 510 Comforth þin. 513 com wiþ. 514 Bysettand ihesu. 515 swerdus speres maces. 516 blewen so. 518 was wiþ inne. 519 þe Iues spak hem. 520 sa omitted. 522 ffor and ne omitted. 523 said thar ȝow noȝt. 527 hem

432 several letters erased after wanne and y haue don interlined. 434 iii Men erased after him and þe postelus interlined. 436 loued he More þa oþer marked for deletion. 439 to þem þre marked for deletion and wyt gode wile written in very faintly. 440 four letters written very faintly after Me. 499 haþ interlined. 515 t interlined.

ne dred he noht. 528 He sayde to hem wat haue þe soȝt. 529 answerede hii him Mek. 530 of omitted. 531 saide wil. 533 dred þey were so heþ hem ladde. 534 Hii leye so hii were. 535 stoude stille. 536 Ihesu to hem seyde his wille. 537 þe Men faste haue þe. 538 þe Iues answerd anone. 539 of omitted. 540 Ihesu wordes Mek. 541 saide first y. 542 fferrur wille y noȝt ȝou fle. vv. 542a-542b omitted. 543 y be. vv. 545-546 inserted :

þan com' Iudas Ihesu neȝ  
He kissed his Moȝt and crieþ on hey.

547 maister gon he calle. 548 þe Iues com aboute. 551 said to. 552 procured Me þou. 553 þou haues bytraid Me y. 554 Warto My mowþ gon þou kisse. 555 Wan his desciples saw þis fare. 556 Echon of hem self haþ þe care. vv. 557-562 inserted :

ffro him pat ȝed euerchon  
Bote saint peter t·seint Iohan  
Peter þoȝt he wolde do god  
He drew his swerd as he was wod  
And smot a man swiþe sore  
His riȝt ere he karf him þore.

565 Ihesu saic þis was don. 566 He seied to peter sone anon. 568 þenk o þing þat. 569 Wo so wiþ. 570 Him self ssal haue þe same gale. 571 Wenest þou noȝt if y wille draue. 572 angelus y. 573 Sexty þousand of. 574 He wolde Me sende þis. 575 ffro my fos me to fonde. 576 And ȝet he wel do me mo sende. vv. 577-578 inserted :

My partye wolde þey susteyne  
Aȝens þe Iues þat beþ so ken.

579 þan war it noȝt prophecie. 580 þat saied of me þat I sal deye. 581 þerfore byhoueþ fulfilde to. 582 Alle þat is. 583 Ihesu ȝed pem. 584 He tok þe ere þat wa, of scorne. 585 He ȝed to him þat was bledende. 586 And heled it wele farande. 587 ffir þis loued hii him. 588 him so þamme roȝt. 589 honden sore t· faste. 590 Wile þe bondus wold ylaste. 592 Als. 593 do muchel vn riȝt. 594 wiþ inne niȝt. vv. 595-596 inserted :

þe do me scame al þat ȝe Maye  
ffaire it were to do by daye.

597 Ofte I haue amonge ȝou. 598 me haue. 599 Wiþ in þe temple ȝou to teche. 600 Of god þat is so god aliche. vv. 600a-602 inserted :

536 In his the scribe started a w, then changed it to h.

þanne Miȝt ȝe wel haue taken Me  
And bondon My honden byhinde Me  
Betere þen nou wiþ inne niȝte  
On þis Manere to proue ȝoure Miȝte

603 Iues þan answerede noȝt.      604 him so þey had þoȝt.      605 him wiþ  
a gret pas.      606 To þe bischop sire caifas.      609 þe Iues by goñne forto  
wreye.      610 Ihesu boþ loude + hii.      611 folwede son anon.      612 Oure lord  
ihesu so.      613 Ion hentred wiþ.      614 was knouen so fer.      616 man him  
wolde in.      617 Sone so he.      620 peter entred at.      *vv. 621-622 inserted:*

Wan hii ssolde Ihesu schame do  
þe on by held þat oþer also.

623 stod wiþ a.      624 Aboute him he gan it holden.      626 And toward  
him hii gonre glide.      627 Hii leide on þe Mantel goude.      628 And drew  
him so hii were wode.      *vv. 628a-628b inserted:*

ffelawe þou salte dwelle wiþ vs no  
ffor þou art disiple ihesu.

629 Wan Ion.      630 leuer þe.      631 wiþ ful gret.      632 left þe.  
635 stod þat ilke þrawe.      636 Among þe Iues wiþ onlawe.      637 was him  
wiþ inne.      638 Of þing þat touked ani.      639 þe wekked Iues stod by  
side.      640 him gonre þey glid.      642 Wonder þinge þan mow ȝe lere.  
643 may fallen in eny prow.      644 þe muchel temple.      645 And wiþ inne.  
646 Reise a noþer wel.      647 þis witeþ ȝe alle for soþe.      648 saep.  
650 al on lawe.      651 He asked ihesu þere.      652 ffor him þoȝt playntes.  
*vv. 653-654 omitted.*      *vv. 655-656 inserted:*

Ihesu stod answered he noȝt  
ffor he was agreued on his þoȝt.

657 Cayfas saied to him þanne.      658 ȝif þou be a criston Manne.  
660 þou say me sone stande.      661 ȝif þou.      662 Suþ þat þou to him  
vs Mone.      664 sone þou seest he[re].      665 y say þe.      669 herde þe.  
671 His owen cloþes he brak for.      673 owen word is.      674 der  
him none.      675 Men saied.      676 Alle hii saied do.      677 Hii gonre  
spidende on.      678 And schorned him fouliche wiþ alle.      679 And hii  
wiþ palmes in þe plase.      680 Wondid hii Ihesu on þe face.      681 Peter stod  
among hem bold.      683 saw a fure was maked on.      684 And as he durste

*627 to deleted before on.      638 ani interlined.      665 for interlined after þere.      683 fure  
corrected from faire.      684 r of durste inserted.*

he þer niȝt. 686 him at his. 687 Maidon anone. 688 wat hii ssulde.  
 689 stod by þe fire. 690 drow here swiþe nere. 692 ert desiple Ihesu.  
 693 Peter saied. 695 þou on Me laiest. 696 I wot neuer wat þou saiest.  
 698 Fro þat Maide gon he gone. 699 Anoþer stod peter by side. 700 And  
 toward him gan he glide. 701 Off his face wan he. 702 spak wordus to  
 peter þar. 704 þat was woned wiþ Ihesu Gone. 708 I saw him neuer for  
 today. 709 þoȝt þat strif ful ille. 710 He wold pas firo hem stille.  
 712 By twene men t. 713 him com Iues. 714 men as y. 716 þat þe.  
 718 Peter anon gan him þrete. 719 Saye omitted. 720 min nere. 721 Ihesu  
 take. 722 þis may. 724 þer fore he wend away. 725 þow folwed him  
 bytwene. 726 ffor soþe he. 727 Peter stod and was dred. 728 It  
 omitted. 729 As. 730 haste go wronge. 732 noȝt knawed. 733 by  
 gunned kockes. 734 Wel sone boþ loude t. 736 t loked þane peter.  
 737 Peter saw ihesu to him. 738 sone anone he gan him by þenke.  
*vv. 741-742 omitted.* 743 þere of he cowd do. 744 Bot ȝed wiþ owte t.  
 wop sore. 745 By fore þe. 746 euer ferly gode. 747 He acouped.  
 748 How he wroȝt t wat nedes. 749 Of techinge. 750 and omitted.  
 753 tekinge haue y noȝt ihid. 754 Hit haueþ be wide to be ikyd. 759 I  
 þat ȝow telle of. 760 fforto loke þe. 761 priuete hii haued ben asaiede.  
 762 þey ssal. 763 Wy þow askes sweche þinge of me. 764 oþer kon telle.  
 769 þere ros vp a felon þef. 770 kontek was him lef. 771 He sterte vp  
 vp so he. 774 þe biscoþ þat þow spekest to. 775 stode so. 776 haþ.  
 778 Aȝenes riȝt. 779 haue oȝt. 780 þenne after þy. 781 Bot y saie  
 noȝt bot. 782 my mod. 783 Sone after wan þis was done. 784 Caifas  
 saied to Ihesu anone. 786 Say vs. 789 Ne ȝow to telle no þinge. 790 ȝe  
 leue noȝt my tekinge. 794 here fine. 795 y some. 796 þat now wole me  
 of. 797 þis was saied to þe. 801 hii gon crie. 802 And saide omitted.  
 804 If þow wilt we trow on. 806 ffor it spronge daies. 807 Wan hii come  
 hii tok hire redd. 808 ihesu vnto ded. 809 þan hii bond him ful sore.  
 810 ffor þere wold hii dwelle no more. 811 Bot sone anone hii tok þe gate.  
 812 ffort[il] hii com to pilate. 813 With owten him hii derste noȝt. 814 Off  
 þinge. 816 In alle þat lond he haþ Maistreye. 817 wole we. 818 Sumdel  
 of his sorewe to telle. 820 He ssal euerie in helle wade. 823 Wan his  
 gamme was. 825 He wold noȝt of Ihesu mercy to craue. 826 he wende.  
 827 He ȝed to þe Iues kene. 828 at omitted. 830 fforsowþe he dide.  
 836 To Iudas gon hii kalle. 837 Hii saied we haue noȝt forto do.  
*vv. 839-840 follow v. 842.* 839 So god vs help at oure nede. 841 Wan þow.  
 844 ffluȝt omitted. 845 paied so. 846 Miȝt þere none. 847 herd þe.  
 848 Of his lif gan he ffille. 853 And kaste hem al sone t skete. 855 hem gan

713 ne deleted after kene. 743 d of cowd inserted. 799 þore deleted and sore  
 written above. 804 we interlined.

he gone. 856 ffor he. 857 To a priue plase he. 859 Wiþ a corde in priuete. 860 He hengede. 861 in ful. 862 gottes drailed to his frote. 863 was ful lorn. 865 his schend. 866 pine is wend. 867 sawe þe. 869 Sone anone hii gonre striue. 871 Wat hii. 872 t some so. 873 Summe saied hit byhoued. 875 hit noȝt to tresourye. 880 fforto holdon in here hond. 881 streye þeues. 882 wiþ eny senne. 883 Stronge þeues also to. 884 In here pouste fforto kraue. 885 þis. 886 Anone hii Maked a marchandise. 889 Siþen apon þat. 894 So by giled was. 895 þere fore was Ihesu sold. 896 And Iudas haued þe. 898 þat Ihesu was. 904 pilat fette. 905 by gommen fforto. 906 Ihesu boþe loðd t heye. 907 saied by for þe. 909 maked þe folke to him. 910 þer of wille. 911 ȝit he saied. 912 god of Iues. 915 saieþ wiþ miȝt of mode. 916 þere here stode. 917 Is it souþ. 918 now or lest asone. 920 Ihesu spak wiþ. 921 saiste y. 922 am present. 926 Also Ihesu saeþ it ssal be. 927 ffor sowþe y finde on him. 928 ssal bete him ne pult. 929 þe Iues bygon fforto crie. 930 Pilate pow saied gret ffolye. 932 But he broȝt hem to anoþer. 933 haueþ turnede vs fro. 935 þis þre. 936 As wide so he. 937 is now fro þy. 938 To þe lond of. *vv. 939-942 inserted:*

Pilat anone gan to kalle  
Into þe wikked Iues halle  
Wiþþus he saied t warnet me  
ȝif he were borne in galile.

943 answered fot hote. 946 Wele I wote wat he is. 947 heraud of. 948 þe rengne he haldep on his. 949 is Man. 950 dom fallet. 952 say y sente. 953 do his. 954 Man þat ȝe wille spille. 955 tok þe. 956 heraudes gone hii gone. 957 Hy come wiþ a grete pas. 961 ffuȝt omitted. 962 wele omitted. *vv. 967-968 omitted.* 970 liked wel y. 974 And þat þe. 975 haued done. 976 forȝiue y him eche del. 977 fro him Ihesu is sente to. 978 me somdel. 979 Ah my wraȝ is ffro. 980 And þow erte wele to. 983 gameinge. 984 þow hauest don many selked þinge. *vv. 985-986 transposed.* 985 Blinde men þow makest to. 986 Men haued oft told Me. *vv. 985a-985b inserted:*

Dom men to speken also  
þe deue to here pow kannes do.

987 þow hauest do gone. 988 men made hole anone. 990 Sum merakel. 992 Wold noȝt be taried more. 994 noȝt of heraudus. 995 him sore prete. 998 þe men þat sate in. 999 him wiþ swite cloþes. 1000 wiþ many oþes. 1001 y am for sake. 1002 broȝt ssal. 1003 Aȝen to

pilat ȝe. 1004 þanne rekkeþ. 1005 And of þis man be do. 1006  
 Weþþer he. 1007 Iues tok anone þe gate. 1008 To þey. vv. 1009-  
 1010b *inserted*:

Hii tolde him tidandes glade  
 Heraud + he were frendes made  
 And him for ȝaf wraþ + tene  
 þat seuen ȝere was hem bytwene.

1011 He bad ȝow do of Ihesu ȝowre wille. 1012 ȝe. 1013 anone gan  
 for calle. 1015 ȝe beþ to blame. 1016 him wiþ any scame. 1017 I  
 may no þinge in him finde. 1018 Warfore men ssold him bete ne bindie.  
 1021 is costom in. 1022 At þis paske þat is comande. 1023 ȝif a man.  
 1024 ffor euel dede or. 1025 he of. 1026 Wit outen dome + gone fre. 1027  
 þat ȝe. 1030 him of lond fle. 1031 by gonne for to crie. 1032 speken  
 alle wiþ felonye. 1033 he hadde do noȝt ille. 1034 wold. 1036 cried  
 on. 1038 þinge þat was. 1041 þo wile hii to stonde ȝore. 1044 in þe.  
 1045 Hii. 1046 And tok a. 1047 And deliuueranse wold þey haue.  
 1048 Of a man þat hii. 1049 prison barabas. 1050 Boþ traitour + þef he  
 was. 1051 him wold hii echone. 1052 Thesu crist hii wold ssalone.  
 1053 Pilat anone com. 1054 He saied. 1057 cried certes nay. 1060 De-  
 liuerer vs him þat vs. 1063 þoȝt wele þat godes sone. 1064 Was comen  
 in erþe forto wone. vv. 1065-1066 *inserted*:

He wist if Ihesu miȝt forþ gone  
 He ssolle haue saules many one.

1067 ded bye. 1068 þe sawles oute of his. 1069 A treson. 1071 His  
 þoȝt he fondaþ to fulfille. 1072 And al by niȝt he wente stille. 1073 And  
 com to. 1074 He wold. 1075 lay fast slepande. 1076 To hire he com  
 swiþe slepande. 1078 Off þy harme þow y warny þe. 1079 Consale þy  
 louerd + ȝif him rede. 1081 Hii þat procured him to falle. 1082 Hii ssal  
 be confonded alle. 1083 ffor he was taken wiþ oute reson. 1084 wrong  
 holden in. 1086 þe pine of helle he to him. 1087 þis wordus herd pilates  
 wif. 1088 He was adrad of hire lif. 1089 Sone he ȝede to pilate. 1090 he  
 sat on domes gate. 1091 As he. 1092 do nowe *omitted*. 1093 Pilate  
 I hold þe for wode. 1095 noȝt on þe. 1096 To do. 1097 wolle þe.  
 1098 best com to me fro. 1099 Gretliche he. 1100 Thesu so. 1101 Hii  
 þat. 1102 hend hii beþ. 1103 was foule + vnlik. 1104 Saw I neuer  
 none so lodlik. 1105 I was. 1107 Deliuere Ihesu now fro. 1108 þat  
 þe best may loue. 1109 herd þe. 1110 him gon hii. vv. 1112a-1112b

*omitted.* 1113 He haþ saiede vs shame + sconde. 1114 Byscamed vs in eche londe. 1115 ȝit he saied. 1116 þat he hauþ of vs maistreye. 1117 he doþ him. 1118 Swyche beþ his dedes alle. *vv. 1118a-1118b inserted:*

Eche man þat saied swiche þinge  
We saieþ to sesar oure kinge.

1119 saied to. 1120 noȝt þat seist. 1121 miȝt be for. *vv. 1122-1125*  
*omitted.* 1126 þat pow now sone. 1127 a wikked. 1128 him fette water.  
1130 so hauþ he. 1131 He saied to þe Iues kene. 1132 Of þis dede I  
wolle y clene. 1133 þe spillinge of. 1134 I finde on him no. 1136  
blod be on vs sene. 1137 leue al þe sunne. 1138 and oure. 1139 pilate  
wiþ Mild mod. 1140 Vnto Ihesu þere he stod. 1141 by þenk þe.  
1142 Alle þes helded on. 1144 vsed by hold dawes. 1146 Of þis wordus  
rekke me. 1147 Here wil y make. 1153 Aȝen þe Iues hii miȝt me.  
1154 ssolde me. 1156 fad[er] ssal. 1157 saied þan þow. 1161 I com to  
by al mankinne. 1162 þat was lorne þorw filþe sinne. 1163 to fiȝt no to  
swere. 1164 Bot soþ witnes forto bere. 1165 Eche man þat louþ  
sowþnesse. 1166 my way more. 1168 Wat sowþnes is pow. 1170 He  
saied noþer euel ne god. 1171 Pilate stod full. 1172 miȝt saie wiste.  
1173 Anone he saied to Iues to. 1175 Summe seied do spil. 1176 Pilate  
saied y finde on him no þinge bot. 1177 God it is þat we. 1178 þe lond  
þere. 1179 saieþ. 1180 pow him quite skape. 1182 so we hauþ tolden.  
*vv. 1185-1186 transposed.* 1185 and *omitted.* 1186 pow ssalt Iuel dede  
day. 1187 Pilate doubted hem more. 1188 And toke Ihesu forþ þore.  
1190 Doþ he saied wat wile byfalle. 1192 spuly. 1193 And of him hii  
turde his. 1194 many oþes. 1195 And bond him to a pilere. 1196 And  
toke scorges charpe + stere. 1197 Hii bette him wold hii wold. 1198 þe  
blod ran of his body faste. 1199 þere he. 1200 ffomed al of red blode.  
1201 Siþen hii bonde his honden faste. 1202 Wiþ stronge cordes wile hii laste.  
1203 And dide on him a porpul. 1204 fel on kness by fore him alle.  
1205 Alle þey saied on. 1206 God þe loke sire Iues. 1207 ȝut hii tok  
þornes. 1208 a garland hem. 1209 And prested it faste on. 1210 Was  
no mercy on hem by leued. *vv. 1210a-1210b inserted:*

þe þornes wode in his flesse  
þat tender was + swiþe neshe.

1211 And echon made a wond grete. 1212 þat wiþ blode was his face wete.  
*vv. 1214a-1214b inserted:*

ȝit hii grette him wiþ god spede  
In his riȝt honde to hold a rede.

1146 þis corrected from his.

1168 w and n of sowþnes interlined.

1215 Wiþ þat rede hii smote him sore. 1216 Al þat he sufferd + wel more.  
 1217 Ihesu pilate. 1218 ran on. 1219 I haue wonder of þe. 1220 no-  
 man. *vv. 1220a-1220b inserted:*

Wy wilt þow no mercy crie  
 To hem þat do þe þis folye.

1223 Wenens ert þow wat is þy name. 1224 Stronge þow art to suffer  
 schame. 1225 I rede þow. 1226 þe falle. 1227 stod answered  
 he noȝt. 1228 Pilate saieþ. 1229 ffort þow. 1231 Wenens þow noȝt  
 þat y may. 1232 Sauë þe. 1233 Or y may do þe to ded. 1234 Al is at  
 my own red. 1235 Alle þy. 1236 To do it henge vpon a tre. 1237 þane  
 spak Ihesu wiþ mild mode. 1238 To pilate þere he stode. 1240 þat þat  
 is graunted to þe. 1241 haueþ more. 1242 þat ȝaf me vp to þis vn  
 winne. 1243 Pilate lad Ihesu wiþ owten. 1244 Iues gadered hem abouten.  
 1245 Anone pilate. 1247 Iues cried we. 1248 him dome. 1250 deme  
 a man bot ȝe wite. 1251 þere hii. 1252 Cried so þey. 1254 him dome.  
 1255 haue þan rede. 1256 þe law wile þat he be ded. 1257 doþ þat to  
 folye falles. 1258 Wanne he him kinge of Iues kalles. 1259 saieþ I.  
 1261 þan saieþ þe Iues alle. 1262 þe dome to vs wole noȝt falle. 1263 ȝif  
 him dom it fallet to þe. 1264 Dop him henge vp on a tre. 1266 ȝowre  
 owen kinge. 1267 Iues saied sone. 1268 kinge haue. 1269 vs now for.  
 1270 Barabas of preson tak. 1272 ȝe wiþ. 1274 him dom to. 1276 ȝafe  
 dom Ihesu to. 1277 baraban comanded. 1279 Purpul pal Ihesu. 1280 Hii  
 turuede it of him wiþ on winne. 1281 cloþes gun hii take. 1282 And  
 cloþed him for ȝene sake. 1283 Hii drowe him so hii. 1284 To henge  
 Ihesu on þe rode. 1285 dom is ȝiuen demed is he. 1286 + haueþ.  
*vv. 1287-1290 omitted.* 1291 ȝede swiþe faste. 1292 fonde at þe laste.  
 1294 I wille ȝow telle wordus more. 1295 y mot a. 1296 Off þat tre ȝow  
 to telle. 1300 Alle to geder he hem wonde. 1304 Hii were I broȝt oute of  
 paradis. 1307 were taken. 1309 On swiche tre þe appell on grow. 1312  
 Deliuerd adam. 1314 þat deþ was þorw þe appell wroȝt. 1315 þat liue  
 of. 1316 ssolle take. 1317 Dauid þe kinge. 1318 In þe erþe þe rotes alle  
 mette. 1319 Wan þe. 1320 + were faste echone. 1322 were graue togeder  
 þere. 1324 þere on. 1325 Cipres þe palme. 1326 þe firste. 1327 wide  
 sprad. 1328 kinge + oper þer of Ioie had. 1330 were ilike grene. 1332 a  
 faire. 1333 Hit stode + faire it sprede. 1336 Salomon was siþen kinge.  
 1337 sone siþen of. 1338 Were fore he bar eþe. 1339 he gan to. 1340 þer in  
 to serue boþe. 1342 To make þe werke to rise ahye. 1342a Ierusalem þat

site. 1342b a temple of. 1343 vp wroȝt. 1345 byfore kinge. 1346 Hii tolde. 1347 so him ne. 1348 Off þat. 1350 þat was longe + faire of hew. 1351 saw it. 1354 And drow it vp on þe kerke. 1355 drow þat tre. 1356 To þat werke hit wex on sleye. 1358 fet merke. 1359 þoȝt hem alle. 1361 ȝit hii. 1362 had mete wronge. 1363 Eft hii gonre merke to take. 1366 þan swore hij it. 1367 Eft hii drow hit. 1369 sped ferly welle. 1370 of þe þoper wold hit take no delle. 1371 þe merke. 1372 hit of þe kirke. 1374 To þat werke wil it noȝt diȝt. 1375 Anoþer wold hit abide. 1376 þere fro miȝt no man hide. 1377 Abide wol hit anoþer. 1380 miȝt noman it flitte. 1382 brigge as y. 1384 sanke on a. vv. 1385–1386 omitted. 1387 þat wot alle dedes. 1388 Honourd þat tre for mannes nedes. 1390 As I ssal now telle. 1392 He sente þider an. 1393 water flaw. 1394 suld. 1395 þat woned þe water by side. 1396 An aungel hii sawe þere in glide. 1397 time eche. 1399 miȝt anone riȝt. 1400 after þe aungel fliȝt. 1401 þey hii were. 1403 blind hii ssold. 1404 riȝt hii ssold be. 1405 Iuel sore. 1406 haued bote. 1407 for þat. 1409 comen to. 1411 it so hii. 1412 And did. 1413 How þe rode was maked telle ȝow y wolle. 1415 Off foure endes it was sterde. 1416 ffor Ihesu solde þer on be sperde. 1418 To eiþerur honde wiþ outen sake. 1419 His fet to his neþer. 1420 nailed so. 1421 Of þat maner tre it was made alle. 1422 As ȝow now telle ssalle. 1424 body was ferly smalle. 1425 brede was þat is armes lay on. 1426 Oliue was it primed on. 1425 + faire tre. 1428 Men miȝt it fer yse. 1429 þat it in. 1430 Was of ceder swiþe gode. 1431 noȝt roton. 1432 longe so he henged þer on. vv. 1433–1434 transposed. 1433 Bores þre hii. 1434 þer on hy bored wiþ on winne. vv. 1434a–1434b inserted :

ffor hem þoȝt þe tre was sad  
Nailes to driuen hem powt hard.

1435 Hem þoȝt michel. 1436 Bores hii made tok hii no marke þer to. 1437 A bore to þat o hond anoþer to þat oþer. 1438 A bore to boþe fet wold hii none oþer. 1439 Wanne it was made + diȝt also. 1440 þan faileþ hem nailes þere to. 1441 þe Iues euer wurche hem. 1442 To make nailes. 1443 Hii fonde a smiþ ful sone. 1444 Hii bad him be sone anone. vv. 1445–1446 inserted :

þat he ssold hii him faste  
To make nailes þat wold laste.

1447 To nailye Ihesu on þe rode. 1448 Hii cried so hii were wode. 1449 þe smiþ herd him was. 1450 Abote þe. 1451 wille gode. 1452 He wolde 1370 take interlinel. vv. 1411–1438 collated with G<sub>5</sub>. 1439f. variants are from Ad.

by leue t. 1453 was a verey. 1454 Loþ him. 1455 And þan omitted.  
 1456 He þoȝt Ihesu frende to be. 1457 He saiede to þe. 1458 smiþ by  
 houeþ to calle. 1459 ȝow nailes pre. 1460 To day gete ȝe none of me.  
 1461 In his bosom held is. 1462 And saied. 1463 haue gret pine.  
 1464 I wene My. 1466 smiþ wiþ hert tene. 1467 Now we wote þow.  
 1468 Of þy hond sornes to. 1470 And we wil sweren + hold oure oþes.  
 1472 lif ssal sone be furlorne. 1474 hii did him. 1475 þan þere was  
 on a pase. 1476 ffraier tokeinge. vv. 1477–1478 inserted:

Byforen his hond noȝt sore had bene  
 God mad sornesse þere on by sene.

1479 It ferd as it had be sore. 1480 Bot þow it was neuer. 1481 saw it.  
 1482 no schatþe do. 1483 fforþ it com. 1484 Wiþ sorwe ent he hire.  
 1485 Byfor þe Iues þere he. 1486 He spak hire louerd litel. 1487 saieþ.  
 1488 hauedus þow. 1490 Iuel on hond hauedust þow none. vv. 1491–1492  
*inserted*:

Were hauest þow bene amonȝe þy fous  
 Siþen today þat þow ros.

1493 Bot the omitted. 1494 Ne omitted. 1495 He tok þe way to.  
 1496 brak þe eren of þe. 1497 it on. 1498 Wer of þe nailes suld.  
 1500 Durst he noȝt saied þat he dide ille. 1502 Ware hire god þat sitteþ  
 in tro[ne]. 1503 Anone þe Iues tok þe gate. 1504 ffor loþ hem was come  
 to late. 1505 pilate þere he stode. 1506 Ihesu wiþ mild mod. 1507 Hii  
 seide hem sat Iues. 1509 tok here rede. 1510 To do Ihesu to þe dede.  
 1511 Hii by gonnes forto striue. 1512 grete wonder forto. vv. 1513–1514  
*transposed*. 1513 Amonge hem so hii. 1515 And omitted. 1516 þat sal  
 þer on henged. 1518 Acordeþ þerto sone anone. 1519 rode bere. 1520 hii  
 ȝerned. vv. 1520a–1520j omitted. 1521 him oute of þat site. 1523 To  
 Iues wiþ him þere were also. 1524 þat ssold wiþ him to deþ by do.  
 1525 Men folwede wit. 1526 ffluȝ omitted. 1527 Wiues maidens. 1528  
 ffor him couþe hii. vv. 1531–1532 omitted. 1533 Ne omitted. 1534  
 ffor no þinge þat ȝe on me se. 1535 Bot omitted. 1537 daies beþ comende  
 faste. 1538 ȝe sal ȝowre ioes kaste. 1539 And on ȝowre faders crie.  
 1540 And on ȝowre. 1541 were lorn. 1542 Mechel sorewe is vs by forn.  
 1544 were better to be noȝt. 1545 þe montes crie. 1546 Wiþ gred sorwe  
 + enuie. vv. 1547–1548 inserted:

Mountes we wille þat ȝe falle  
 Anone to hidin vs alle.

1549 ȝit it ssal so tide t be. 1550 more wonder. *vv.* 1550a-1550b  
*inserted:*

þe most dele of riche borwe  
 Sal daie for hunger þourþ t þowr.

*vv.* 180/1\*-181/54\* omitted. 1551 Iues folwed Ihesu wiþ ire. 1552  
 So did þilate þat. 1553 As hii. 1554 A honked man gon hii mete.  
 1556 He ȝed swiþe on his erande. 1557 ffor nedes þat he haueþ.  
 1558 Wan he com þe cite vnto. 1559 Iues parsauid him alle. 1560  
 Soneanone hii gon him kalle. 1561 Maister he. 1562 Wele ert  
 þow mette. 1563 Here is a man amonge. 1566 War on he. 1568 go  
 swiþe Michel it him. 1569 þow for. 1570 Of þis man þe rode. 1571 and  
*omitted.* 1572 fult omitted. 1574 I may. 1575 answered anone.  
 1576 Wiþ þis heþlot is. 1577 þow to bere þe tre. 1578 Siþen we haue  
 beden þe. 1579 vp t forþe þow go. 1580 þy bak ato. 1582 Aȝen þe  
 Iues to hold mote. 1583 Simon tok þe rode anone. 1584 hit on his  
 scolder bon. 1585 Hii made him bere it wiþ. 1586 Bere it omitted.  
*vv.* 1586a-1586b omitted. 1587 hii laied þe. *vv.* 1589-1590 transposed.  
 1589 hadde done scorne of him hii maked. 1590 Hii spolied him.  
 1591 Aboute him hii laied his. 1592 And deled him wiþ outen oþes.  
*vv.* 1593-1598j *inserted, cf. Ad.* 1520a-1520f.

Wiþ outen semes his cloþes were	1593
þat hii deled amonȝe hem þere	
Wan hii had done here wille	
Hii scorned ihesu wiþ oute schile	1596
Hii ȝede abouȝt so hii were wode	
fforto do Ihesu on þe rode	1598
ȝit liues a man t þat is ferliche	1598a
þat saw Ihesu boþ dede t qwiked	1598b
His name is Ion potedeu	1598c
Wan god was ded sore gan him rew	1598d
He saw wit eiȝe t wiþ poȝt	1598e
How Ihesu was to dede broȝt	1598f
He saieþ wiþ his mouȝe t spekes	1598g
Euerich godman þer of recches	1598h
He saw þe crois hole t sonde	1598i
How it was laide on þe grond	1598j

*vv.* 1599-1600 transposed. 1599 How ihesu was on rode. 1603 Ihesu so  
 he naked stode. 1604 wide vp on. 1605 his arme swete. 1606 To  
 1556 on interlined. 1593 sinne erased and semes interlined.

loke if hii were mete. 1607 As hii gun merke him so. 1609 His armes  
 miȝt noȝt come þer to. 1610 Ne miȝt his fete come. vv. 1611-1612  
*inserted:*

þe Iues saw þis tidinge  
 Anone hii wore in destorbinge.

1613 was loþ oþer bores make. 1614 ropes gon hii take. 1615 on oþer hond.  
 1616 þe blod barst oute byfore þe hond. vv. 1616a-1616b *omitted.* 1617 On  
 oþer side hii gon drawe. 1618 ffor hii miȝt þe bores haue. 1619 barst þe  
 hide also. 1620 His swete body cleue in to. 1621 tok þe nailes. 1622  
 drow hem þorw. 1623 loked on his. 1624 Hii saiede þat hii lay noȝt riȝt.  
 1625 toke a rope. 1626 And did hit on his fete faste. 1627 Anoþer on  
 his brest wiþ strenþe. 1628 drow hem ouer þe bore a spanne lencþe.  
 1629 His ancleus braste wo. 1630 Merci of him heued. vv. 1631-1636  
*inserted:*

Hii tok his fete þat were schene  
 And laide him ouer þe bore y wene 1632  
 Hii tok a naile wonder gret  
 And drof hit porewe boþ his fete  
 Hot blod of his bodie ran  
 So wo by gone was neuer man. 1636

1637 than *omitted.* 1638 War on he. 1639 is riȝt schulder. 1640 Mercy  
 of him haued hii none. vv. 1641-1642 *inserted:*

Wan hii haued þus idone  
 Hii lifted hit vp sone anon.

1644 Hii lifted hit. 1645 it on a. 1646 ssulde it þenne. 1647 Siþen  
 on. 1648 On Ihesu crist hii gon to calle. 1649 Liȝt done of þat  
 [t]re. 1651 wille leue on þe riȝt. 1652 man of muchel Miȝt. 1653  
 Anone pilate. 1654 So saied seint Ion þat wel wote. 1655 On a brede of a  
 palme. vv. 1656-1657 *omitted.* vv. 1658-1680 *follow v.* 1656. 1658 Men  
 miȝt it boþe Rede. 1659 saiede wiþ outen misse. 1660 naȝarerot it is.  
 1661 Iues was þeron writen. 1662 it by tonus ȝe moȝw witen. 1665 was  
 Ihesu ebru. 1666 Iues latine as y. 1667 pilate tokened. 1668 telle at  
 My. 1671 wit his worde. 1672 It ssulde be fest on palme borde.  
 1673 He þouȝt. 1674 He ssuld haue. 1675 Ne no folke t[u]rne him fro.  
 1676 Bot be in pes euer mo. 1677 it Rede. 1679 pilat hii gun. vv.  
 1681-1682 *follow v.* 1680. 1681 Writen noȝt he is Iues kinge. 1682 þow  
 ert he saied on his scorni[n]ge. vv. 1683-1684 *omitted.* 1686 were wode.  
 1687 Wiþ wronge. 1689 ȝit þe korsud Iues kene. 1690 Made destorblinge.

1691 *ȝit henged to þefus him by.*    1692 *do him scame.*    1693 *þat ton.*  
 1694 *Help me o lord ar y deye.*    1695 *oþer saied.*    1696 *him getest.*  
 1697 *How miȝt he.*    1698 *His owen ded miȝt he.*    1699 *He spak t.*  
 1701 *saied þow.*    1702 *þis man done noȝt bot god.*    1703 *He war noȝt*  
*worþy to sufer ded.*    1704 *danned þorow fals.*    1705 *We haue done gret.*  
 1706 *Riȝt is þat we mercy crye.*    1707 *þis man is so ful.*    1708 *vs sauе*  
*in heuen.*    1709 *Ihesu y.*    1711 *comest in to blis.*    1712 *way me.*  
 1714 *paradis to wone wiþ me.*    *vv. 1714a–1714t inserted:*

He þat was sauued heiȝt Ioadas	1714a
He þat was damned heiȝt camadas	1714b
In Ioadas at his endinge day	1714c
þre þingus men say may	1714d
þat him were in on rode tre	1714e
Stronge hope t charte	1714f
Strenþ he hade in þat þinge	1714g
Wan he on rode knew god for kinge	1714h
Hope in him men miȝt se	1714i
Wan he saied lord þenk on Me	1714j
Charite wan he blamed is felawe	1714k
Vnder name of his wiked sawe	1714l
And him bad god to drede	1714m
And asked mercy for is misedede	1714n
In Ioadas was vertu t grace	1714o
þat he haued of his lif space	1714p
Godus miȝt to knowe on rode	1714q
þer none of þe apostes stode	1714r
ffor þy y wene he is go lef	1714s
Saint austyn kallet him þe blessed þef.	1714t

1715 *þis wil y no.*    1717 *was done.*    1718 *and omitted.*    1719 *to*  
*Iues.*    1720 *He saied.*    1721 *herd þis alle.*    1723 *he gan on Rode kalle.*  
 1724 *hiȝt wolden alle.*    1725 *Swik dring.*    1728 *him a drink.*    1729 *He*  
*saied to hem þat were vnhende.*    1730 *t com to.*    1731 *þere stod.*  
 1732 *þre Maries þat were gode.*    1733 *moder maiden clene.*    1735 *And*  
*marie.*    1736 *And seint Ioȝn oure louerdus priue.*    1737 *Leuedy weped*  
*sore.*    1740 *And omitted.*    1741 *saied to.*    1742 *sone seint Ioȝn for*  
*me.*    *vv. 1742a 1742b omitted.*    1743 *Ihesu saied to Ione þinkeſt now.*

1693 *þat corrected from þe; two letters erased after þef.*    1695 *oþer interlined.*

1704 *MS. danned.*

1714 *ne of wone interlined.*

1744 Ion by hold þy moder trew. 1747 herd þe wordes. 1748 þe teres fel  
 doune to hire fete. 1749 Al hire face was hid wiþ. 1750 þere he.  
 1751 Ion Ihesu word vnder stode. 1752 Mary haued he wille gode.  
 1753 He tok oure leuedy to kepe schene. 1754 maidenes clene. 1755 spak  
 ful. 1756 To þat folke þat him. 1757 ȝe þat wende by þis place.  
 1758 Abide a wile t byhold my. 1759 Lok if eny. 1761 saied. 1762 None  
 to þis be heuene May. vv. 1763–1766 omitted. 1768 It left þe. 1769  
 Ihesu gan wepe pine to. 1770 He wex blak so þe cole. 1771 turned  
 to niȝt. 1772 þe sterres reft þe sunes liȝt. 1773 Gret wondere was also.  
 1774 temple was cleued ato. 1775 wiþ þe. 1776 Stronge it was þat storm  
 to. 1777 þat had be dede. 1778 hondred ȝere or. 1779 gun vp rise.  
 1780 here puttes on. 1781 ȝede to þat site. 1782 Men miȝt wiþ hem boþe  
 speke. vv. 1782a–1782bb inserted:

Ale þat wise men hem by twene	1782a
Haued wonder wat it miȝt mene	1782b
Among hem was a god man t wise	1782c
In alle þat lond holden in pris	1782d
His name was kalled dinis	1782e
þat sijen was bischop of paris	1782f
And sijen þoled pine t schame	1782g
And martir bicom for godes name	1782h
Wan god was done on þe rode	1782i
No ȝinge of him hii vnder stode	1782j
Ne amonge hem was no speche	1782k
Of Ihesu haued hii no knewleche	1782l
ffor godes hauet hii no mo þan one	1782m
Of lime.of clay of tre ne of stone	1782n
And autres made of many wise	1782o
Hii made to many godes sacrefise	1782p
Wan dinis saw in þat tide	1782q
þe merknesse þat ȝede so wide	1782r
Of Ihesu he made minde	1782s
And saieþ now sterres god of kiñde	1782t
þe wise man amonge hem spake	1782u
A auter hii dide sone make	1782v
In þe temple amonge here godes alle	1782w
Of þe vnkouþ god hii did it calle	1782x
Bot wan seint paule gan to preche	1782y
In alle þe lond þat folk to teche	1782z

Him þat hii þe vnchoþe god told  
Sofaste god he bad hem hold. 1782aa  
1782bb

1784 By twix midday + none. 1785 At time. 1786 þere he. 1787 Longe  
he. 1788 So he did lama; abatany. vv. 1792a-1792l inserted;

To his fader he made is mone	1792a
þat he him hauet left alone	1792b
Alone he was for man kinde	1792c
ffor no miȝt men þan finde	1792d
þat stedfaslyche in treuȝe stode	1792e
Bot þe þef þat henged vn rode	1792f
And þe maiden in wam he tok manhed	1792g
He huld þe treuȝe vp of his god hed	1792h
ffor þy on þe saturday	1792i
Alle oure hele in hire lay	1792j
þat day on hire in tokeninge	1792k
Speciallike men rede t singe.	1792l

1793 Iues stode. 1794 Hii were scent in here pride. 1795 wende had.  
1797 tak him doun. 1798 Wiþ schame ssal. 1799 ȝit saied Ihesu lowde  
þ stille. vv. 1801-1802 transposed. 1801 am do to. 1802 ffader y am þorow  
þy. 1804 thou omitted. 1805 I byteche þe my. 1806 is þine wel. 1807 He  
kened his heued swiþe stille. 1808 His gost. vv. 1808a-1808l inserted:

Van þat Ihesu to ded was neiȝ	1808a
þe deuel sat on þe rode aheiȝ	1808b
To fonde if he miȝt winne	1808c
In his saule eny sinne	1808d
þan ssalt þow man þy selue deme	1808e
And in þy lif þe fro sinne ȝeme	1808f
þat no gilt at þin endingȝ day	1808g
In þe þe deuel finde may	1808h
Of godes deþ felle tokeninges	1808i
Miȝt men see in wonder þinges	1808j
Of erþe dine of aungeles steuene	1808k
þat þere were þ com fro heuene.	1808l

1809 Ihesu tok þe. 1810 þerfro miſt him noman dwelle. 1811 brak  
stronge. 1812 him were hii spēd. 1813 were for him ferly drad.  
1815 Hii ne miſt. 1817 bond faste. 1818 Wiþ stronge bondes bat zit

1792*f* be interlined.

1812 him interlined.

laste. 1819 ffor he. 1820 ffor it come to domes day. 1821 Ihesu vnbond. 1822 þat were. 1823 Anone he. 1824 were I kan noȝt. 1826 Ioie was t euere is. 1828 he by com man. 1829 Vnder þe. 1830 telle ȝow y. 1831 telle wan me liste. 1832 Of god muchel. 1833 cry he gan make. 1834 sawe goddes wondus. 1835 saied I wis. 1837 was þe mannes. 1838 ffor þat word he. 1839 him in stronge prison. 1840 sufferd passion. 1841 þat oþer day aboute none. 1843 armaȝye þat kontre. 1844 a r[i]che' man of fe. 1846 loued Ihesu alle is lif. 1848 fforthe come. 1850 body þow. vv. 1851–1852 inserted :

Suffur me to take hit doun  
And bere his body into þe towne.

1853 Pilate saied y graunty þe. 1854 ffirſt wille y lok if he. 1855 He kalled forþ kniȝtes. 1856 gosep he saied ȝe ssal wende. 1857 þider þere ȝe henged. 1858 To lok if he be ded nou. vv. 1859–1860 follow v. 1858. 1859 If he ded be tak him dounne stille. 1860 Lat Iosep of him haue is. 1861 kniȝtus gun forþ gone. 1863 come to þefus to. 1864 Hii brake boþ here hipes in. 1866 And by held Ihesu. 1867 Hii saw wele Ihesu. 1868 his bones was no. 1871 was þat kniȝtus. 1872 ffor omitted. 1873 him by forne Ihesu stand. 1874 hii putte on is. vv. 1875–1876 transposed. 1875 it into. 1876 Put vp hii saied wat. 1878 hert gon hit go. 1879 by gan anone owte springe. 1880 water anone outhre wringe. 1880a ffro þe deuel we beþ þorowe his. 1880b and omitted. 1881 Longine stille stod to þe blod ren bygan. 1882 To his ownen fette smerliche it ran. 1883 Wiþ þe blod. 1884 And of is siȝt he had grace. 1885 him dr[e]de. 1886 Of Ihesu to haue his mede. 1888 And on Ihesu crie. 1893 Pilat bad Iosep take þe. 1894 And bere it þere is. 1895 bod[y] anone. 1896 And laide it in trowe. 1897 a Iue gode. 1900 þere Ihesu. 1901 A nom his body þere. 1902 worme it ssolle dere. 1903 Hii tok anone þe. 1904 Hii laiet it in sendel clene. 1905 him sendel. 1906 Wiþ his seluer he it broȝt. 1907 Hii did his body in graue. 1908 him wiste hii gode mede. 1909 þe spices were of. 1910 Hii laide aboute him for sauour. 1912 It w[as] noȝt liȝt þenne to. 1914 Hii ȝed þerfro t. 1917 a consaiele t a. 1918 Iues rife. 1919 Noȝt miȝt þat strif stille. 1920 ffort hii. 1921 Sone anone hii tok þe gate. 1922 ffort hii. 1923 Hii saied pilate vnderstand. 1925 He this omitted. 1926 Of omitted. 1928 Wonder it is if it by falle. 1929 hem wel I. 1930 Rise fro ded þe. 1931 and

1828 be and he interlined.

1909 fleested written in margin.

omitted. 1932 tho omitted. 1933 And do hem. 1934 ffor þe þridde day  
 be agon. 1935 wiþ reison. 1936 Make amoneg no treison. 1937 stele  
 þe body. 1938 hit away w[er] hii miht. 1939 telle t. 1940 gon away.  
 1941 and omitted. 1944 kepes hit if ȝe can. 1945 lond opon. 1946 Opon  
 catelle and on wif. 1947 Wan hii were charged. 1950 Word durst hii  
 spek more. vv. 1951–1952 omitted. 1953 anon wend. 1954 the graue.  
 1956 Us bi houes. 1958 Another at his fete that none him take. 1959 Set  
 hon at ather side. 1960 ffor wat thinge so mai bitide. 1961 ani so.  
 1962 That dar com vs amoneg. 1964 t stele ihesu. 1965 Alle sul hii  
 heued. 1966 But thai sone hethen fle. 1967 Thus bigan hii to.  
 1968 Alle drow hii swordes. 1969 alle that niht. 1971 In the morninge  
 thai. 1972 hii thar no. 1974 He ros fro ded the. 1976 Wold he no.  
 1978 Me miht wit him bothe spek. 1979 he ȝed faire. 1981 spak wit  
 that. 1982 He bed. 1983 to apostulus. 1984 in toure. 1985 mare  
 his moder. 1986 to sant Ion. 1987 t said to him. 1988 resen of mi  
 stone. 1989 Gangand man in. 1990 Liuande wit. 1991 The wemman  
 can fort gone. 1992 Scho did his bidding sone. 1994 to apostoles al that.  
 1995 That was resen of his stone. 1999 When his desipelis herd that word.  
 2001 now to mi spellinge. 2002 I sal ȝow telle another thinge. 2004 al  
 that morninge. 2005 Wan that morninge was al gone. 2007 aboute  
 ful. 2008 fonden al or wille. 2010 Was put beside t. 2012 Hii saw.  
 2013 And þer downe an angel briȝt. 2014 Com fleand. 2015 angele liȝt  
 to. 2016 him þere opone. vv. 2017–2018 inserted :

þe kniȝtes were of hym ful dred  
 þay fellun doun her armes spred.

2022 He kallet hys felaws styue fast. 2023 Sone he sayd tyl. 2024  
 playut euel plaws. 2025 Alas he sayde quat. 2026 we miȝt noȝt  
 Thesu kepe. 2030 ys forlorn. vv. 2031–2032 omitted. 2033 þar vs  
 neuer mercy. 2034 We wetun wel non to. vv. 2035–2036 omitted.  
 vv. 2037–2038 transposed. 2039 Anoþer sayde felaws by styll. 2040  
 þis ys don at godus. 2041 ȝe dede. 2043 fors he ros of hys ston.  
 2044 Queder he wylle. vv. 2045–2046 omitted. 2047 say so we.  
 2048 We wylle noȝt. 2049 SO now fourfe þay tok ȝe gate. vv. 2051–  
 2052 omitted. 2053 Pylat Ihesu we wok to nyȝt. 2054 ys mon. 2056  
 kepus hys graue of ston. 2057 graue se we. 2058 cloȝes rychly wroȝt.  
 vv. 2059–2062 omitted. 2063 sayd says noȝt. 2064 Yf þat ye wille wel do.  
 vv. 2065–2066 omitted. vv. 2067–2068 transposed. 2067 t gret 2068 Says

vv. 2017–2098 f. 49b.–50a. are not by the hand which wrote the rest of the MS.

þat he was stollun to nyȝt. 2070 Quat þinge so ye. 2071 Of þis word þay.  
2072 ffor omitted. 2074 þat þay schulde telle in ȝe toun. 2075 þat he was  
rysun þourȝt non gret myȝt. 2076 com þider forto. vv. 2077-2078 omitted.  
2079 Ihesu our godes sone. 2080 þat suffurut has hard passioun.  
2081 Graunt vs hys stronge pyne. 2082 To haue euer in oure mynde.  
2083 warant be. 2084 Quen þat we schuln heuen se. vv. 2085-2086 omitted.  
2087 to heuon wende. 2088 þat lastes euer wyt out. 2089 ys to ȝe  
blysse: vv. 2090a-2090d omitted.

2075 non interlined.

2076 þider interlined.

2. RAWLINSON MS. C. 86 (R)

[Since R is a late and bad MS. it seems advisable, in place of a full list of variants, to give merely the variant readings of two passages, consisting of about 100 lines each, together with a list of the additional lines of R.]

Vv. 1–100 : Collation with I (see above vol. I, pp. 2–12).

vv. 1\*–8\* prefixed :

Off gostly Maters I wy <sup>H</sup> meve	1*
To yow thatt are In cristes Beleve	
Thynges pertayny[ng] to gostly helthe	
Agayne Bodyly ioy + worldly welthe	4*
Off Criste Ihesu oure hevyne kynge	
Eterna <sup>H</sup> god euer more lastynge	
Whatt Payne he suffred for mankynde	
To sauе his sowle ffrome the ffende.	8*

1 His passioun now I.	2 Aftir scripture as I kane spe <sup>H</sup> .	3 Ihesu
thatt made us al off nouglite.	4 dere he Boughte.	vv. 5 and 6 transposed.
5 He wolde natt oure soulys.	6 With outer gilte he suffred.	vv. 7–8 omitted.
9 Aftir Mark.	10 AH thes fioure accordynge.	vv. 10a–10b inserted :

Makynge Rehersal In theyre scriptoure.  
How Ihesu Criste oure savioure.

vv. 12a–12b omitted. 13 vertu hitt sprange ful<sup>H</sup> wyde. 14 AH abought one.  
15 had off hym Envy. 16 And seyde he fferde al with ffoly. 18 Ihesu to  
speke al ther. 19 heme to a. 21 Off prynces and off Mastris al. 22 They  
did the Iewys Byfore. vv. 22a–22b inserted :

Prestes and mastris and oþer Grete  
Whiche had the olde lawe to kepe.

23 off the lawis. 24 yn his sawis. vv. 24a–24b inserted :

Off his meruelys and off his dedis  
Hou he wroughte + to whatt nedis.

25 Iff þatt ye thus. 26 I say Amonge you euerich<sup>H</sup> one. 27 AH youre  
ffolke shal<sup>H</sup> yne hym Bileve\* 28 Whiche to youre lawes shal<sup>H</sup> be Repreve.

30 he gane to Ryme.      31 And seyde vnto.      32 Wote ye nouḡt whal̄  
 Befal̄.      34 the pepyH.      35 Iewys toke hitt.      37 Off hymē selfe had he.  
 38 hitt had hymē.      vv. 38a-38b inserted (cf. F) :

He seyde ffor sothe it shulde so be  
 þatt he shulde dye one the Rode tre.

40 pouḡt no nay.      41 nott seyde they al̄.      42 In suche wronge ther yn  
 to ffaH.      43 A grete ffest was tho ney hande.      45 Lewis worshippide al̄ þatt.  
 46 pouer most.      47 And att the ffest þei gane hymē blame.      48 And seide  
 by Ihesu Right grete shame.      50 And hou to deth̄ they Migh̄t hymē doo.  
 51 Some off theme seyde.      52 TyH it were thatt hye passede tyde.      vv. 53-54  
 omitted.      55 TiH þey had take Anothere Rede.      56 Whane thatt Ihesu shulde  
 Be dede.      58 Ihesu Suffred moche pyne.      59 To thatt Cite Ihesu gane  
 drawe.      vv. 60a-60b inserted (cf. F) :

His dissiples with hymē yede  
 Off hymē they thought to haue þer mede.

61 Amonge theme al̄ he clepid two.      62 And bad theme upone.      63 Goo  
 ye ffast into the Cite.      64 In al̄ the hast thatt may be.      66 yne a.  
 vv. 67-68 :

A meke best bowndyne with yrene sole.  
 Hyme fforto lose mene shaſt you pole.

69 Thatt as yne hast Bryng you to.      70 And I wyH wende ynto.      71  
 dissiples forthi gane.      73 And broughth thatt as with grete spedē.      74 Bifore  
 oure lorde Ihesu ther he yede.      75 Ihesu Both̄ gode and kynde.      76  
 Toward the Cite.      77 off israel herd say.      78 Ihesu was commynge in patt  
 way.      79 þei wente and ffett hymē in to þe.      80 With RiaH and Solempne  
 processiou.      82 Clothis yne his wey fforto Sprede.      83 And some off  
 theme broughth clothithies swete.      84 And Erbis to straw afore.      85 The  
 Braunchis off palme tre also.      86 þei cast yne þe wey þer Ihesu shulde goo.  
 87 Mene begane to Synge and Sey.      88 lorde whane we shaſt dey.      vv. 88a-  
 88d inserted (cf. F) :

A blissidfuH word mote come ffrome the  
 Off god thatt Sittith yne trinite  
 Ihesu Crist oure hevyne kynge  
 Was right wel̄ plesid with her seyngē.

89 Thane Light he downe Anone ffluH.      90 theme all with̄.      91 And passiā.  
 93 Into a strete he came ffluH Blive.      94 Laȝare þer he Reysid frome.      95  
 had laȝar fro deth̄ Ireised.      96 Off the pepiH he was gretly preyed.      97  
 Thane Ihesu with his.      98 Wente to the towne harbour to.      99 came Into.

*Vv. 1587–1688: Variants from D* (see vol. I, pp. 184–196).

1587 Ther the Iewis sett.	1588 One Ihesu.	1589 hyme there
les and more.	1590 Ihesu stode nakid as euyr he was Bore.	1591
Beside hym ther they layd his.	1592 Thei delte heme with many othis.	
1593 seme his.	1595 Whane thei had done all their.	1596 Ihesu
stode biside theme Right stiH.	1597 And lokid one theme with pitous mode.	
1598 While thei did Aray the Rode.	1599 How Ihesu was.	1600 teli
anone Right sone.	1602 Erth Right stiH.	1603 Thei toke Ihesu ther he
nakid.	1604 opyne vpone.	1605 The holys þat were Borid for his
armys swete.	1606 Thei made A profir Iff they.	1607 gane to make
hir mark.	1608 His hondis myght nott Reche.	1609 Natt by a ffote.
1610 Bi the mesir off theyre metinge.	1611 saw thatt Itt was to longe.	
1612 And seid this Mesure was take wronge.	1613 Loti thei were othir	
holys to.	1614 Twayne stronge Ropis they gane take.	1615 One Eche
hand a Rope þey Bownde.	1616 His Blode brast out and ffeH one þe	
grownde.	1617 A large halfe ffote of length they drowgh.	1618 TilH
thatt his armys were longe Inowgh.	1619 brast the Body ffro.	1620
Both flessli and Skyne ffor soth also.	1621 twey nayles sharpe and	
stronge.	1622 handes longe.	1623 lokid vnto his ffete so BrigtH.
1625 Thei toke A rope thatt wolde laste.	1626 And Bounde hitt abowt his	
ffete faste.	1627 Anoþir abouute his Brest ffuH stronge.	1628 And
drew hym oute a ffote longe.	w. 1629–1630 omitted.	1631 so clene.
1632 the hole I.	1633 They toke a nayle thatt was ffuH grete.	1634
And smote itt þrough boþe his ffete.	1635 ffro his hede the Blode Rane	
Rownde.	1636 By large streme downe to grownde.	1637 þer was
natt so moch space lefte vnblede.	1638 As he myght lene to rest hys.	
1639 Butt leyde itt one.	1640 Was neuir mane so wo Bygone.	1641 Whane
thei had this dede Idone.	1642 Thei Reryd vpe the Rode Anone.	1644
And sett hitt up with grete Envy.	1645 They made a pitte depe and longe.	
1646 Wheryne they made þe Rode to be stronge.	1647 they gane ffaH.	
1648 To skorne hym þer they gane kaH.	1649 And seyde Iff thou goddes	
sone Be.	1650 Descende doune ffrome the Rode tre.	1651 Thane wiH
A Braunch off.	1654 As seynt Iohn seith þat.	1655 Vpone
1658 hitt Rede.	1656 hitt sett with herte ffre.	1657 hitt one hye one þe.
off naþareth here ys.	1659 The tytiH off writynge seide I wis.	1660 Ihesu
wete.	1661 ther was.	1662 Itt menyþ ye mow sone
1663 Grew and latyne and also Ebrow.	1664 Thes thre langweges	
were yne þat skrow.	1665 Naþareth was grew Ihesu Ebrow.	1666 Iewis
latyne new.	1667 Whatt quod pilate Betokenys þis writte.	1668 teli

aftir my sympih witte. 1669 is Butt a. 1671 Anone As he had seid  
 thatt worde. 1672 He loyned þatt scrow vpone palme. 1673 He thouȝte  
 whane Ihesu had Bene dede. 1674 Thatt he shulde haue no more drede.  
 1675 no pepiȝ shuld turne hym. 1676 Excepte only hym h[e] dred no  
 moo. 1677 Thei þatt koude this lettir Rede. 1678 Helde hemē Ewyȝ  
 plesed with pilates dede. 1679 The Iewis to pilate sone gane kry. 1680  
 And seid thou. *vv. 1680a-1680b omitted.* 1681 Write natt quod pei  
 thatt he is oure kynge. 1682 ffor hosome evir seide itt is A lesyngē.  
 1685 seyde with Softe mode. 1686 Iewis ther thei stode. 1687 Iff itt  
 Be wronge Blame is yne me. 1688 As hitt is writyne shaȝt itt now Be.

## Additional Lines.

*For vv. 1-100 see above, vol. II, pp. 150-151.*

108a-108b (*cf. A, F*) :

She kissid his ffete weȝt and Mekely  
 And ffor hir Synnes she was sory.

120a-120d (*cf. F*) :

þe swettnes and the sauer ther  
 Itt spred Aboute both̄ fferre + nere  
 The sauer alȝ so þe hows gane ffiȝ  
 Thatt some off theme Itt Likid iȝ.

132a-132b (*cf. F, A*) :

Butt thatt sory wrecchide theffe  
 To gedir Riches he was leffe.

156a-156b :

He seyde to the Iewis as ye xalȝ here  
 With hasty wordis fflȝ off yre.

194a-194b (*cf. F*) :

This fforsayde god mane shaȝt you lede  
 Ther ye shaȝt youre Eronde spedē.

210a-210b (*cf. F* 212a-212b) :

The wrecche þought alȝ off glotony.  
 Off tresone and Eke off ffelony.

238a-238b (*cf. F*) :

Gode wiȝ I haue to sende you witt  
 Cherite + paciens and synnes to Remytt.

320a-320b :

Iff thatt ye Suffre hitt ffor þe Right  
 In hevynē ye xalȝ Shyne fflȝ bright.

368a–368b :

Ye shal be yne my ffadrys blisse  
 Euer ther dwellyng with outyne Misse.

488a–488b :

And seide ffadir off hevyne Blisse  
 Thes peynes to me be grevous Iwys.

563–564 (*cf. I.*) :

Malkus was his Right name  
 ffor thatt stroke he had blame.

586a–586b (*cf. I.*) :

And sett it vnto with oute any Sore  
 As hole as euyr hitt was Byffore.

653–654 (*cf. D, Ad*) :

Off which mene one the do kry  
 Iss hitt soth or is hitt Envy.

686a–686b (*cf. I, D*) :

Thatt made most his herte light  
 ffor thatt was a passyng colde nyght.

751–752 (*cf. I, D*) :

Ihesu answerde with oute Envy  
 To the Iewis thatt stode hym by.

872–872d :

Some seyde hitt shulde Be partid in thre  
 The ffirste parte to pouer mene  
 To pilgrymmys þe secunde as I wene  
 þe therde parte as they had thoughte  
 Vñto the tempil Itt Shulde Be broughte.

962a–962b :

Butt yett cowde I Be neuer þe nere  
 I went fful liteþ to haue ffounde þe here.

981–982 :

And sennys thou arte to me IBrowghte  
 Tell me off þy dedis þat þou hast wroughte.

996a–996b :

Herodis mene þei Bete hym sore  
 þe Blode Rane downe By his gore.

1030a–1030b :

Butt ffor none hatered nor no wrethe  
 I wiþ natt þat he shulde suffir deth.

1032a-1032h :

Aftir the Iugement off his dedis  
 þe lawis seyth he muste dye nedis  
 Pilate seyde vnto theme Agayne  
 This wordis Bene spokyne al yn vayne  
 Sey Amonge ye now Euerychone  
 Whatt is the tresoun þatt he hath done  
 The Lewis seyde tho al att onys  
 To pylate Boldely ffor the nonys.

1136a-1136b :

Iff itt Be vnRight ffulȝy done  
 Vengeawnce shaȝt ffollow sone.

1292a-1292b (*cf. I*) :

The tre was grete and longe Also  
 God had purveide hitt þerto.

1338a-1338b (*cf. I*) :

He was Right wise and light yne degré  
 And also nobiȝt of grete dignyte.

1342a-1342b (*cf. I, F, A, G<sub>1</sub>*) :

In Ierusa'lem thatt grete nobiȝt cite  
 He made A chirche off high degré.

1574a-1574b (*cf. D*) :

A grete Eronde I haue fforto doo  
 Whane I Comme nere þe Cite vnto.

1714a-1714b :

This day my kyngdome thou shal se  
 And with myselfe theryne to Be.

1738a-1738b :

Off al the pepiȝt thatt ther stode  
 Whane She Behelde hir sone on Rode.

1764a-1764n :

The ffowlis off þe Eyre haue þeire nest  
 Wheryne they now take her Rest  
 Bestis also vnResonabyȝt  
 Some haue dene and some haue stabiliȝt

1764a

Butt he þatt is ane hevynly kynge  
 And maker also off al maner thyngē

1764d

<sup>1</sup> He had natt So moche Ilevid

As A place ffor to Rest yne his hede

1764h

<sup>1</sup> 1764g-1764h. See vv. 1637-1638.

Ihesu seide to the pepi<sup>h</sup> thane                                    1764*i*  
 Me fforthynkith<sup>h</sup> pat euer I made mane  
 I fformed mankend aftir my wille  
 And now he is Redy me to Spille                                    1764*l*  
 Listenyth and here me nowe  
 A wondir thynge I wi<sup>h</sup> tell yow.                                    1764*n*

1786*a*:

With a lowde voice þer he gane krye.

1787*a*:

He seide also with<sup>h</sup> owtyne ly.

1806*a*–1806*d*:

Body and Sowle is yne thy sight  
 Thou wottist wel<sup>h</sup> thyne itt is off Right<sup>h</sup>  
 Whane he had seide thes wordes a<sup>h</sup>  
 His sone gane downe to ffa<sup>h</sup>.

1820*a*–1820*b*:

Ihesu thatt deyd ffor a<sup>h</sup> Mankynde  
 þus yne thatt wise withistode the ffende.

1846*a*–1846*b* (*cf. I*):

Ihesu is Body haue ffayn he wolde  
 In graue he thought to lye hit shulde.

1862*a*–1862*b*:

Ioseph went fast Bifore the mene  
 He was ther longe are Eny off theme.

1891–1892 (*cf. I, A*):

I knew nott whatt I ded I wis  
 So mote I Come vnto thy Blisse.

1896*a*–1896*b*:

Thidir he Bare the Body sti<sup>h</sup>  
 ffor he had helpe Inough<sup>h</sup> att wi<sup>h</sup>.

1910*a*–1910*b*:

The Lewis yett A Custome have  
 Thatt whane eny Man Is leyde yne graue.

1946*a*–1946*b*:

By god mahownde a<sup>h</sup> ye sha<sup>h</sup> dey  
 Iff thatt his Body Be stolyne Awey.

1954a-1954b :

Thei lokid vndir Euerich̄ one  
Iff his Body were ther or none.

1956a-1956b :

Vpone oure liffe this charge is take  
þer ff ore we Must gode wacch Make.

1974a-1974b :

In the mornyng up he Rose  
Ageyne the wiþ off his floys.

2000a-2000b (*cf. I.*) :

So moche ioy Amonge theme was  
þey Seide there Deo gracias.

2058a-2058b :

A sudary also ther lyth with yne  
And gode Spicery Istrawid with wyne.

2075a-2075b :

Sey thatt he was stolyne Be night  
Armed mene came thidir fful Right.

2080a-2080r :

Graunte vs grace to lede oure life  
In cherite with oute Envy And strife  
And the to haue in oure Remembraunce  
To save us alff fro Mischefe + vengeaunce  
Whane we shal dye and hens wende  
Thow sauе vs ffrome the wikkid ffende  
And ffor thi passioun graunte us grace  
In hevyne to have a dwellynge place  
Pray we to god thatt itt may so be  
With A pater noster And Ane Ave  
Thatt we mow skape the Payne off helff  
Ond euyr more In hevyn to dwel  
He thatt herith this fforsayde prechynge  
And takith hitt mekely ffor his techynge  
He shall have tyme off clene confessioun  
Ar euir he dye and satisfaccioun  
An. C. dayes also off Indulgens and pardoun  
And godde off hevyne is dere Benysoun. Amen.

2080a

2080d

2080h

2080l

2080p

2080r

### 3. RAWLINSON POETRY 175 (P)

[The following variants give the result of a collation of MS. Rawlinson Poetry, 175, with the version of Harleian 4196, printed in the last column of the parallel texts in Volume I. Certain very common points of difference are not noted : final *ll* for *l*, and final *tt* for *t*; medial *th* for *p*; *o* for *u* before *m* and *n*; *e* for *i* or *y* in final unaccented syllables; and the interchange of *i* and *y* (see *Introduction*, II, pp. 44–5). No notice is taken of the frequent use of *ad* or *&* for *and*, and *wt* for *with*, nor the occurrence of *yh* for the *yok* (ȝ), as *yhow* for *ȝow*. Where both the Cottonian and the Rawlinson MSS. offer a variant from Harleian, the Rawlinson reading is given even if it fall in the above list of readings not regularly printed.]

2/4\* mynd. 2/5\* our. 2/6\* preciouse blode. 2/7\* our. 2/8\* Here to.  
 2/12\* for till. 2/13\* nedefull. 2/14\* for to. 2/15\* parfor. 2/16\* ynglysch lawd . . . for to. 2/19\* Ensaumple fortill tech. 2/20\* ffleschly . . .  
 for to. 2/21\* our faa. 2/24\* wald fail. 3/26\* our. 3/28\* þarfor he  
 wend with outer. 3/31\* gud. 3/37\* our flesch. 3/38\* wyked. 3/39\*  
 stabily for to. 3/42\* our. 3/45\* Afterward. 3/46\* our gospell.  
 3/47\* certayne. 3/49\* wer. 3/52\* spek. 3/53\* draue out deuels fro.  
 3/54\* was. 15 iewes had gret envy. 16 al foly. 18 ferlies. 21 iewes  
 gert togyder. 23 þair lawes. 24 þair sawes. 28 And so þan sall our  
 lawes. 28a Romains and folk of vncouth. 28b feche our . . . out of o  
 hand. 28c ded. 28d sted. 29 þair. 33 vn to ded. 34 perysch.  
 38 gast þe. 43 gret fest. 44 Pasch. 50 þair. 52 hegh. 53  
 nonekyns. 54 none wyse. 56 man tyl'. 58 seluen. 61 discipels.  
 63 by for. 64 myld. 65 fynd. 70 yhow. 70b gud. 74b allswa.  
 75 þair clathes þai layd with outer. 76 sythen. 79 And so he rade vnto  
 þe toune. 81 gret honoure. 82 þair souerayne and sauyoure. 90a  
 wirschepe. 90b Envy ay in þair. 90d outer. 91 ffra þa folk full of  
 envy. 97 meneyhe. 98 toune. 99 gud. 101 þair sopere. 102  
 Mawdelayn. 106 mysdedes. 107 Doun scho fell and wesch. 109 sythen.  
 110 mourned. 112 precyouse. 113 þare with scho enoyted him.  
 113a by for . . . tyme. 113b In þe gospell wha sa will luke. 113c þat  
 sett es of hir in buke. 113d Bot þe process. 117 enoynted him heued t  
 fette. 118 honourd. 120 syde. 123 scarioth. 124 syth' . . . 125

oynement. 128 þusgate. 128a sald it sone. 128b penyse þarfor tane.  
 129 mykell gud. 130 gyuen to pouer mens. 132 was all his. 132a  
 had all þair. 132b tend. 132c both skath + skorn. 133 kan all  
 counsail. 139 ffor I. 140 þat þat woman. 148 avayl. 149 Iewes.  
 150 all þe tales þat pou kan. 153 sopere. 154 graythely to þe Iewes.  
 155 all togyder. 156 Iewes. 156a þair princes gret. 156b all.  
 160b venged. 161 Iewes vnto him wele gan lythe. 162 þair hertes þai  
 war ful blythe. 162c stounde. 162d Thretty plates of penyes rounde.  
 165 Thretty plates of þair. 19/1\* enchesoun. 19/2\* byfell. 19/3\* our  
 lord ihesu was sald. 19/4\* thretty penyes playnly talde. 19/5\* nouther.  
 19/8\* þair. 19/9\* Symon. 19/11\* hir oynement precyouse. 19/12\*  
 howse. 20/14\* oynement was euell despended. 20/15\* sald. 20/16\*  
 penyes to haue talde. 20/17\* combyrd. 20/18\* parfor. 20/19\* all þat  
 þai had fortill. 20/20\* haly. 20/21\* bages. 20/22\* All þair.  
 20/24\* tend euer tok he till. 20/26\* tend of þair. 20/28\* cursedly h led.  
 21/32\* thretty. 21/35\* tend. 21/36\* þair syluer als says þe buke.  
 21/39\* thretty als es sayd byforne. 21/40\* mykell thought him he had lorne.  
 21/41\* wald. 21/42\* þarfor . . . sald. 21/43\* nouther. 21/44\* of þe  
 hundreth. 21/45\* thretty. 169 felaws. 171 our. 172b ffor to.  
 174 traueland. 175 discipels. 177 will þou. 178 þis fest of pasche.  
 178b whar. 184 folowes. 186 ryghtwyse man of noble. 188 come.  
 189 sais I. 190 meneyhe. 193 meneyhe. 195 Gase þider now and  
 graythes our. 196 swilk gud. 197 þan þa. 199 All. 200 þair.  
 202 þair maister and his meneyhe. 204 þair ines. 204b boune. 205 word.  
 206 Doun þai satt all at a bord. 206b Byfor his lord euen he. 209 drynk  
 þan þai furth. 210 drynk. 215 bred. 216 blyssed . . . bowsomly.  
 217 sythen he brak. 220 fro euell dede. 221 flesch. 222 Whare.  
 223 sythen. 224 blyssed it with myld. 224a blyssyng. 226 lyf. 232  
 betrayed. 233 for to. 235 sall. 236 Mynd. 242 haue walked wayes  
 wast. 243 fullfylled. 244b sythen ded and in layr. 244c lyf. 244d  
 soth. 245 bald. 246 Iewes has me sald. 248 penyes. 251 beforne. 252  
 Him had bene better haue bene vnborn. 253 discipels. 254 þair hertes  
 bred mykell. 256 foule. 258 þusgate. 264 bitrayed. 265 word.  
 266 bord. 267 hegh. 267a rabbi. 267b gret. 270b fro. 270c  
 wycked. 270d fullfyll. 271 sopere. 273 brest. 274 nest.  
 275 tok. 277 aungell. 279 aungell. 280 selcouth. 288 gud.  
 291 wrote. 292 apocalipsis. 292b Iohan. 293 of þis buke we will  
 spek no. 294 þare. 295 clathe. 296 discipels wex all wrathe. 300  
 mast. 300a for to rewle. 300c all þair. 300d þair. 301 child.  
 302 myld. 303 child. 306 thought. 307 myld. 308 child.

309 heghest. 310 Tyttest. 313 maistry. 314 hegh with outen envy.  
 317 Ensaumple. 318 bowsom. 319 het. 320 suffyr. 321 myld.  
 326a payn. 326b torned fro me ogayn. 327 Comforth. 328 fande-  
 yng. 328a All þis . . . tald. 328b þair. 329 word. 330 bord.  
 331 clathe with myld. 334 doun. 336 suld wesch. 338 nokyns.  
 339 falles. 345 Wesch. 346 vnweschen. 351 wesch and  
 wyped bathe. 352 sythen dried þam with þe clathe. 353  
 allbydene. 361 waschen. 362 ensaumple. 362a bowsom.  
 364 Als till. 366 for to. 369 All. 370 Sorow or bale. 371 outen  
 ende. 372 lastand blis with me to lende. 373 ihesus þus þam.  
 374 fullfyll. 375 prophetes. 376 fullfyllid. 376b sorows . . . sythen.  
 378 sall. 381 for prophetes in þair bokes. 382 hyrdman. 383 flok.  
 385 yhe þe. 387 dede. 388 Iewes. 390 thred. 391 sound.  
 394 mykell. 395 certes. 398 nouther. 399 All. 400 wend to  
 preson. 401 ded. 402 red. 405 þair. 407 sall. 409 Cok  
 haue crawen. 410a sall þou. 410e tak. 410i gret. 410l meneyhe.  
 415 has. 416 by him a swerd contek. 420 wapens redy grayd.  
 421 said. 425 þan ou. 428 discipels tyll. 430 lytell besyde. 432a  
 meneyhe. 433 disciples. 434 nama of all his meneyhe. 435 Iohan  
 and Iames. 438 mount. 440 habydé. 442 temptacyons. 444  
 castyng. 446 knes. 447 myld steuen. 448 vntyll his fader heghest in  
 heuen. 450 þes payns pass. 451 anely. 452 vouches. 454 word  
 and wyrk. 457 gret. 458 blode. 458a dounen on þe ground. 458b  
 stound. 459 aungel. 460 ffleghand fro. 462 fader. 463 wande.  
 464 discipels. 465 tok. 471 hour. 473 heuen. 477 bifore. 479  
 chere. 481 prayd. 482a payns. 483 Sythen he rayse. 484 discipels.  
 486 slepand. 487 thred. 489 dede. 494 Till his discipels. 499 sald.  
 500 bale þis be yhe bald. 502 comand. 503 counsail. 506 shende.  
 508 mykell es feld of his pouste. 51/1\* fraude. 51/2\* iewes. 51/5\* þan  
 said Iudas I. 51/6\* outen. 51/9\* Iewes. 51/10\* Spak. 51/15\* tray-  
 tour kene and bald. 51/16\* tald. 53/20\* furth fast. 513 gret rout.  
 515 glyues. 518a graythely se þe gate. 518b euening. 525 allway.  
 527 wend. 528a Telles vnto me all. 528b whame. 529 þan answerd t  
 said all by dene. 532 sothely. 532c so astond þam in þat stound. 532d  
 ground. 535 rayse þai up and stod. 537 whame. 541 say yhow sothly.  
 542a shewed. 543 sekeyng will noght sese. 544 meneyhe pass. 547 Hail.  
 550 þare. 552 tresone. 554 whare to comes. 554a bitrayes thurgh  
 þi kyssyng. 555 discipels. 556 þair hertes þai had gret. 556c none  
 bot fle. 556d ded. 557 fro. 558 All bot saint peter and saint Iohan.  
 562b Bysschop. 563 Malchus. 564 lanterne. 565 saw þat dede.

568 slayne. 569 Iwyss. 570 peryss. 575 aungels. 576 lytell.  
 578 Iewes. 578a fullfylled. 578b wryten. 582 All þat þai said I sall  
 fullfyll. 584 shorn. 588 parfor. 590 thefe. 592 thefe. 593 glauyes.  
 594 thefe. 598 betwene. 601 gud. 606 vnto þai come till Cayphas.  
 607 Iewes habade. 608 Tyll. 609 discipels. 610 þair. 611 þair.  
 612 Iohan. 612b folowd euer euer on. 612c graythely. 612d come  
 tyll Cayphas. 613 Iohan son. 614 knawen lang byfore. 615 þare.  
 616 gret. 617 Iohan spak vnto þe vscher. 620 als so. 622 þair.  
 623 stod. 624 Iohan had a mantyll. 625 Iewes. 627 be þe lapp.  
 628 schapp. 631 stirt. 634 þare in durst he com nomore. *Accusacio.*  
 636 Iewes full myld. 638 sounyd to any syn. 640 gret. 642 avow.  
 644 Our mykell temple þat we. 645 rays. 646 Ryght vp ogayn within  
 thre days. 649 Cayphas. 651 þare. 653 will pou. 654 accuses.  
 657 Cayphas. 658 spak. 663 myld. 665 sertainly. 666 heuen.  
 667 þair. 668b godes son. 668c envy. 668g Iewes. 668h godes  
 son by. 668j godes son. 671 raue. 672 sythen. 672a Iewes.  
 672b Whareto suld we. 672c grauntes. 673 grauntes. 675 þarfor says  
 what es yhoure red. 676 ded. 677 gon. 680 foul. 681 stod.  
 682a bald. 682b cald. 682c Iewes. 685 Iewes. 690 Spak to peter  
 in þat tyde. 692 Ertow noght ane of his meneyhe. 694 gud. 700 to-  
 gyder. 702 þis wordes scho said. 703 Sertainly. 704b prophetes.  
 704c may men se. 705 bi þi spech. 706 gret. 709 might gayne.  
 710 fayne. 712 yhe yhate. 713 biforne. 714 shorne. 715 bysshop.  
 718 to him. 719 ertow. 723 heled. 731 wrange. 733 saw.  
 734 cokkes onane bigan to craw. 736 myld. 740 loked. 742b cok  
 had krawen. 743 enmyse þat þare. 744 þare. 745 myld. 747 op-  
 posed. 748 meruayls. 749 discipels he spyrd allswa. 750 whyder.  
 751 our. 753 þi techyng. 757 Iewes. 761 werk. 762 gud.  
 763 whare to. 764 teching. 765 wayte. 766 noght. 768 sall þou.  
 769 of Iewes. 770 And omitted. 771 þair stryfe. 772a gret byrr.  
*respondes.* 774 Bysschopp. 774b gret. 775 wryten. 776 loked on  
 him þat had him smyten. 780 pow. 781 ryghtwise. 784a Spak.  
 784b ensaumples. 791 betyde. 792 be my. 793 pouste. 795 þare  
 dedes. 798 Iewes. 798a doune him beforne. 798b gret hethyng him  
 to skorne. 800 clathe. 802 gret envý. 802b es it þat. 802d soth.  
 804a gud. 804b All payns. 807 dede. 811 graythely. 812 þair.  
 813 outer. 814 towched þe crowne vnto. 815 gret. 818 befell.  
 820 euell. 822 wickedly. 826 nane to. 826a hert þan wele.  
 826d mykell. 828 Iewes war samen. 828a stryfe. 828b pass.  
 829 Sir sothely I haue synned he sayd. 830 ryghtwise blode. 831 My.

832 yhow þe mony toke.    832a befor yhow all graunt.    832b trayturly.  
 833 sald.    834 turned full many.    834a þarfor.    835 Iewes.    838 þare  
 of haue we no thing to do.    839 Anyse.    841 to him vnryght.    842b No  
 here.    843 sald.    844 flair mone for him we tald.    846 amendes.  
 849 befor.    850 qwoke for wha.    850a bale him thought.    851 o pay-  
 ment.    852 lapp.    853 doune bifor þair.    854c And when he saw þai  
 wald spare.    856a wickednes.    856c entysed him fast pare tyll.  
 856d despere.    860 hiller.    861 wamb clefe.    862c cause.    862d crist  
 had.    862e outen.    862f saule.    863 lyf.    865 shent.    866 outen  
 end.    867 Iewes saw þe plates round.    868 ground.    869 profytt þare of.  
 872 Som said sa + som.    872b þare to.    873 be deleted after be.    874  
 our tresoure in carbanan.    876 it es pryse.    876a þair hale counsaile.  
 876b mast avayle.    878 all tyll ane.    880 þair.    881 Iewes to ded þare  
 in.    882 All þat suld suffer.    883 þare in.    885 ordaynd on þis.  
 886 made þe marchandyse.    888 þair.    895 tald.    896 Iewes him sald.  
 897 sythen a feld þare with.    900 Iewes gert call þe feld of blode.    900a call.  
 903 enmyes.    *Accusacio.*    905 Iewes.    906 leghe.    908 mykell.  
 911 ane other.    912 Iewes.    914 Cesar our.    914a þat es.    914d ilkane.  
 915 myld.    922a Iewes.    922d kenely.    922f þare.    922g Pilate.  
 922h amaravaild.    922l kan.    922n Pilate gret meruaille.    923 spak with  
 voyce stout.    924 Iewes.    925 kan.    926 kan.    927 cause in him  
 kan.    929 Iewes began.    930 gret envy.    931 our.    933 wend.  
 935 our lawes.    936b our sabbot.    936c aywhare.    936d Trowage to  
 pay to sir Cesare.    937 fro.    939 Pilate.    940 counsail.    942 fro.  
 944 fro.    945 sertanly.    950a pregidyse.    950b herode.    950c  
 vnderstand.    950f Pilate.    951 Herode.    952a says how.  
 952b our.    953 efter.    956 graythely.    958 vntyll þai come tyll.  
 962 Gret.    962b spek.    962d ferlies he before.    963 Herod.    964 þair.  
 965 þair.    968 ioyfull.    969 welcom.    973 hyder.    974 mykell.  
 975 meneyhe.    984 selcouth.    990 selcouth signe.    994a Herode.  
 994b meruaild.    994c said.    996 sithen.    998 skorned both of gret.  
 998a þair.    998b þare tyll.    999 Herode gert for gret.    1000 clothes.  
 1001 sythen.    1003 ogayn yhe sall.    1004 shewes.    1004a þarfor.  
 1004b sall.    1005 Pilate.    1006a him self whether him.    1006b Mi gud  
 will graunt.    1006d faes.    1007 knyghtes.    1008 Playnly.    1009 gud.  
 1010 herode.    1010a less.    1012a fyndes.    1012b wharfor.    1013 to-  
 gyder.    1017 kan.    1018 bete or.    1018b fortill.    1018c kan.  
 1018e þarfor.    1019 red.    1020 chasty.    1021 costom.    1025 Our.  
 1026 gret sollempnite.    1027 parfor I red.    1028a wend whore.    1028b fondene.  
 1030 sithen ger him of land fle.    1031 Iewes so kene and proud.    1032 on

lowd. 1034a euell. 1034b condicions. 1034c lytherly. 1037 parfor  
 he led Ihesus þare out. 1039 allway. 1040 Till. 1041 spak. 1042 Iewes  
 þat war with him. 1048 man þat þai. 1049 presone. 1052 be tane.  
 1053 Pilate. 1054 all so. 1054b Iewes. 1054e assay. 1054f kan.  
 1056a Iewes war euell payd. 1059 thefe. 1060a be our. 1060b  
 pass. 1060e Pilate herd þair hydose. 1061 envy. 1062 witerly.  
 1064 saule suld with his blode. 1067 parfor. 1069 tresone. 1070 moght  
 com wele pareto. 1071 aunigell. 1074 pilate wyfe. 1075 slepan.  
 1079 red. 1085 outen. 1086 tresone. 1086a þarfor. 1088 rayse.  
 1090 soth tyll. 1091 hall. 1092 Pilate. 1093 tak. 1095 þou  
 trow noght þe Iewes. 1096 dede. 1096a mykell. 1097 aunigell full  
 greuouse. 1098a bad þou no. 1098c ordaine in all. 1099 hydusly.  
 1101 þair. 1102 procured. 1108 outen skath. 1108b outen dred.  
 1109 pilate. 1110 All. 1110a Bysshopes of þair. 1112b euell.  
 1114 skaunders. 1115 openly. 1117 Iewes. 1118c Pilate when he þare.  
 1120a þair saiynge. 1120c bitravd. 1122 þair sawes. 1123 bysshopes.  
 1124 obout to do þe skath. 1125 þat es. 1126 sall þou. 1127 spak.  
 1130 wesch. 1130a sythen dried þam on a clathe. 1130b for to . . .  
 skath. 1130d Ane other. 1130f Iewes. 1131 all bi dene.  
 1134 rygghtwyse. 1135 Iewes with gret. 1136b our. 1138 our.  
 1140a spake. 1140b þe þis note þai make. 1141 All. 1142 þair.  
 1146 þair. 1150 þare of. 1151 Mi . . . world. 1152 synnes.  
 1152b aungels. 1154a fullfylled. 1154b wryten. 1156 assent I sall fullfyll.  
 1157 Pilate said þan ertow. 1158 be. 1158a maistry. 1160 world.  
 1161 world. 1162 was. 1164a falshede. 1165 all þat lufes.  
 1166 ways. 1166a Pilate. 1166b to þam. 1167 sothfast. 1168 soth-  
 fastnes. 1170 nouther. 1171 gret. 1174 Iewes . . . som what.  
 1181 wickedly. 1182 frende. 1182b gaynsais Cesare. 1185 þair gret  
 envy. 1186 þat to Cesare toke party. 1187 mykell. 1188b cryde.  
 1188c hegh. 1188e Pilate gan a falshede. 1188f þair will atteyne.  
 1191 And þai. 1192 thefe. 1193 All his clothes fra him þai keste.  
 1194 pyler. 1195 skourges kene þai ordaind. 1197 bett. 1198 skourge.  
 1202 purpure. 1203 skorn him þare. 1204 þair knes doune. 1205 þair.  
 1206 Iewes. 1210 syde. 1210a doune. 1210b vntyll his croune.  
 1210d perched þe harn. 1212 blode ran doune. 1212a kelyng. 1216a  
 rewthe. 1216b Pilate to þe pople. 1216e kan. 1218 fote.  
 1218a Pilate. 1218c Iewes so kene and proud. 1218e voyse.  
 1218f croyse. 1218g Pilatt . . . þair. 1218i tak him þan yhow. 1218k kan.  
 1218l wharfor. 1218m þarfor. 1218s þare. 1218t our. 1218w showt.  
 1218x þare out. 1224 mykell. 1228 has þou. 1230 ert here in. 1236a

slayne. 1238 power. 1239 hastow. 1240 graunted. 1240a gyfen  
 till. 1240c fforþi of me. 1240e þarfor þou es gretly. 1240f mykell shame.  
 1241 mykell. 1242 bitrayd. 1242a Pilate. 1244b doune. 1244d sted.  
 1244e Lychostratos was it cald. 1244f þair. 1245 Pilate. 1247 ogayne.  
 1248 tyte to hyng. 1265 Pilate. 1266 cross yhoure kyng. 1266a all  
 þe Iewes. 1269 graunt vs now for cesare. 1270a him ga white of our.  
 1271 Pilate. 1273 þat ill meneyhe. 1274c Pilate. 1274d þair.  
 1274f ryghtwisly his state to. 1276 þair. 1276a þair. 1277 þan  
 comand. 1278 presoun. 1278b sterenly. 1279 purpure.  
 1280 war hardend all with his awen blode. 1280b flesch. 1280c raged.  
 1280d flessh. 1280e þair. 1280f eftstone bath. 1280g payn. 1280h ser-  
 tayn. 1282 cled. 1284 hyng hegh. 1285 damped. 1286a Ilkane of  
 þam till other spake. 1286b cross myght make. 1293 cross. 1294 soth.  
 1296 lytell. 146/1\* our fourm. 146/2\* eld. 146/3\* þare to thretty  
 þan. 146/4\* lyf. 146/6\* befor. 146/9\* cald þam vnto. 146/10\* stod.  
 147/15\* whareto has þou cald vs hyder. 147/16\* all togyder. 147/18\* payn.  
 147/19\* ogayn. 147/20\* payn. 147/22\* soth. 147/23\* world.  
 147/24\* seknes. 147/25\* soth. 147/27\* for to. 147/29\*  
 þarfore lyges. 148/31\* paradyse. 148/35\* aungell. 148/36\*  
 fruyt þat þou wald ette. 148/38\* yhern no fruyte ne nothing elles.  
 148/39\* outer. 148/40\* euell in all. 148/41\* bedene. 148/43\* greues.  
 148/44\* whare to. 148/46\* All my sons herkens. 148/49\* paradyse.  
 148/52\* both. 148/53\* paradyse. 148/55\* pouste. 148/56\* will at be.  
 148/58\* Both þe west + þe sowthe. 148/59\* aungels. 148/60\* fro.  
 148/61\* soth till. 148/62\* Our aungels went fro. 148/63\* Bifore god  
 þair. 148/64\* þan þe . . . our faa. 148/67\* ete als he hir rede.  
 148/68\* fruyte þat god vs bath forbede. 148/69\* ete. 148/70\* our.  
 148/71\* garrard. 148/72\* als so. 148/73\* our. 148/76\* broken my.  
 148/80\* woundes. 148/81\* fro. 148/83\* syde. 148/84\* With . . .  
 occupyde. 148/86\* our. 148/87\* our lord god allmyghty. 148/89\*  
 worldes. 148/91\* tald. 148/92\* many fald. 148/96\* medesyn to me  
 amend. 148/98\* mykell. 148/99\* gon. 148/100\* Lord gyf. 149/108\* our.  
 149/109\* Our lord of heuen þat it has send. 149/115\* yhate. 149/116\* godes.  
 149/117\* to þe erth and powdre. 149/118\* mercy of. 149/120\* aungels.  
 149/121\* whilk spryng þe oyle. 149/122\* medsyn. 149/123\* þare of  
 forto. 149/128\* aungell. 149/131\* all so. 149/133\* certify.  
 149/134\* witerly. 149/137\* If he þat sande now to me send. 149/140\* whare-  
 by. 149/142\* paradyse. 149/145\* fotesteppes sall þou. 149/146\* Both.  
 149/150\* our. 149/152\* gret and gude. 149/153\* stede our. 149/154\*  
 gryss. 149/156\* our. 149/157\* sall þou fynd. 149/163\* welked.

149/166\* Paradyse. 149/167\* dounē. 149/168\* powder. 149/169\* mykell mornyng. 149/170\* sorowd. 150/173\* oyle. 150/175\* prayers. 150/177\* bad Seth þat he. 150/180\* godes. 150/183\* sertainly. 150/184\* nouther. 150/185\* oyle. 150/188\* thowsand. 150/189\* hundredth and twenty þare tyll. 150/190\* all so aght als es godes. 150/191\* dounē. 150/192\* world. 150/193\* mans synnes þan soll. 150/196\* thred day right fra dede. 150/197\* lyfe ogayn in lym. 150/201\* þai ryse vp ryght. 150/202\* wend. 150/204\* paradyse. 150/207\* sawles. 150/208\* defend. 150/209\* soll he gyff. 150/210\* To all þat in his law will lyfe. 150/211\* Vntyll all. 150/212\* Sall. 150/214\* paradyse. 150/215\* parfor. 150/217\* days er dryuen vnto þe ende. 150/218\* lende. 150/221\* Paradyse. 150/222\* þare ate. 150/223\* þare out. 150/225\* selcouth. 150/226\* ogayn. 150/228\* selcouthes. 150/229\* noys and noble. 150/231\* treese. 150/232\* gret. 150/233\* paradyse. 150/234\* schyne-and. 150/236\* all þe world. 150/237\* fludes. 150/238\* all þe water of pis world. 150/240\* fair. 150/241\* braunches þare on. 150/242\* berk. 150/243\* meruale. 151/246\* syn. 151/250\* þarfore. 151/252\* ogayn. 151/253\* say deleted before se. 151/254\* mykell. 155/256\* heuen. 151/257\* þare on. 151/258\* war. 151/259\* cropp. 151/260\* litell child. 151/264\* gret. 151/265\* loked. 151/267\* witerly. 151/268\* vnto. 151/270\* saule. 151/271\* Abel þat was sakles slayne. 151/272\* aungell. 151/273\* all bidene. 151/275\* prayed þe aungell. 151/276\* child. 151/277\* aungell. 151/279\* child. 152/280\* soth. 152/282\* to erth. 152/284\* ogayn him wyn. 152/287\* paradyse. 152/288\* Thurgh formast fandeyng. 152/291\* ordand ere in þe worldes. 152/292\* ffro bale to endeles blys. 152/293\* aungels. 152/295\* our. 152/297\* days. 152/299\* grayde. 152/300\* he erth so layde. 152/305\* sothely. 152/306\* soll. 152/307\* thred of Pyne soll. 152/308\* þa betaken þe Trinite. 152/309\* allweldand. 152/311\* And in . . . gast bi skyll. 152/312\* aungell. 152/314\* hameward gan he wende. 153/316\* aungell. 153/315\* all so. 153/317\* on wyse. 153/318\* And was comen. 153/321\* allbidene. 153/323\* aungell. 153/326\* worldes. 153/327\* sogate. 153/329\* lyue. 153/331\* sertainly. 153/332\* þarfor. 153/333\* lyfe. 153/334\* gast in to þi hend I gyfe. 153/335\* wiss. 153/336\* ga. 153/337\* thred. 153/338\* aungell. 153/339\* world. 153/340\* Nyghen hundredth and thretty. 153/341\* kynd. 153/342\* myght. 153/347\* lyf. 153/348\* couth. 154/351\* aungels gudely grayde. 154/352\* sayde. 154/353\* no more. 154/355\* tech. 154/358\* biryed. 154/360\* aungels bifore gangand. 154/361\* sollempnely. 154/362\* noble. 154/363\* vayle. 154/364\* gud. 154/365\* all . . . a wondred.

154/367* aungell said to þan þam.	154/368* this.	154/370* sall.
154/371* biry. 154/372* dy þat lyf.	154/374* paradyse. 154/376* aungell.	154/381* mykel.
154/377* godes. 154/379* gret ferlyes.	154/383* In Adam mowth.	155/388* ffro.
154/382* wha sa takes tent. 154/383* In Adam mowth.	155/389* ffro.	155/394* In al.
155/391* nouther. 155/393* lenghe.	155/399* thurgh.	155/401* mykell.
155/396* groueand. 155/402* gret.	155/403* passed þe see both hale and	sownd.
155/404* drownd.	155/405* þair faes.	155/408* mare.
155/412* gret honoure.	155/413* soth.	155/414* trintte.
noble. 156/421* gud.	156/429* relyke.	156/430* worthi.
156/432* four.	156/433* smyten.	156/434* wyld bestes byten.
156/435* neghe þa woundes.	156/438* towchynge.	156/440* ffor at þam.
156/441* þair.	156/443* allbidene.	156/446* stedfast.
156/447* water full gud.	156/449* byden.	156/452* lyfe.
156/454* water þast out gret.	156/455* þair.	157/456* þair.
157/458* gud.	157/459* loueyng.	157/460* þair.
our. 157/465* promyssyounue.	157/468* end.	157/471* Besyde.
157/472* godes.	157/473* gud.	157/478* Iewes.
lange tyme betwene.	157/480* growed in lyke.	157/481* gast.
157/482* wend in hast.	157/485* þare for to fett.	157/486* pro-
phete.	157/489* dyuerse dedes.	158/495* sted.
honourd.	158/499* out of þe ground.	158/500* stound.
noble melody.	158/502* diuerse manere.	158/503* meneyhe.
158/504* gast.	158/505* mykell.	158/506* noble noyse and sauoure.
158/507* þat Dauid.	158/508* case all.	158/513* gud.
nyghend.	158/519* godes.	158/524* Bisyde.
158/526* þat he suld.	159/530* wirschiped.	159/533* sound.
159/534* groueand on þe ground.	159/535* gret.	159/536* remew.
159/537* ryght.	159/538* godes.	159/539* þarfor.
159/543* Stalworthly.	159/545* yhit.	159/550* cropp was braunches.
159/551* swa.	159/552* sercle all.	159/553* sowded.
159/556* mykell.	159/557* gret thurgh godes.	159/558* And so lang in
lytell.	159/559* sted.	159/560* Thretty.
160/565* þat he a synfull.	160/566* vnto.	160/568* gret.
160/572* psauter buke ryght to þe end.		160/571* mend.
160/574* bigyn.	160/575* bygged.	160/576* twenty.
him bath.	160/579* was a synfull.	160/581* sall þou.
160/584* mak.	160/587* Salamon.	160/589* more sall.
160/592* end.	160/598* salamon.	161/599* dede.
161/604* þair birying.	161/605* gret sollempnyte.	161/607* corownd.

161/609\* Most sutell. 161/614\* after. 161/615\* to ende be broght.  
 161/617\* mykell balk þam burd. 161/618\* þai synd couth. 161/619\* toune.  
 161/621\* acord vnto þair. 161/622\* þat at. 161/623\* tak. 161/625\* doune  
 þai hewed. 161/626\* þair. 161/628\* ordaind. 161/629\* þare.  
 161/630\* thretty. 161/631\* playne. 161/632\* þair. 161/633\* þair.  
 162/636\* cubit. 162/638\* doune. 162/639\* þair. 162/640\* kan.  
 162/642\* wast. 162/643\* shorter. 162/645\* Acord. 162/646\* gret.  
 162/649\* mykell tene was þam bytyde. 162/650\* all so crafty kyde.  
 162/652\* it ga. 162/654\* in þe. 162/655\* Ane other. 162/656\*  
 all þe werk tyll ende. 162/661\* made custom. 162/664\*  
 ilkane on þair. 162/666\* sythen bare our. 162/668\* All þe contre  
 ferr. 163/670\* honoure þat tre with gud. 163/672\* hoped. 163/673\*  
 þider. 163/675\* skorn. 163/676\* honourd. 163/678\* þare on hir  
 self to shame. 163/679\* þare in. 163/680\* bilyue began.  
 163/685\* Iewes. 163/686\* Gret. 163/687\* sklaunders our godes.  
 163/689\* þat bad. 163/691\* sone. 163/692\* dede. 163/693\* sufferd  
 shame. 163/694\* neuenyng. 163/695\* þair custom. 163/700\* Honourd  
 þe tre with all þair. 163/701\* þare to. 163/703\* Iewes thought  
 gret. 164/705\* toune. 164/706\* þare in. 164/707\* gret word.  
 164/708\* þareto toke mykell. 164/709\* honourd. 164/710\* godes.  
 164/711\* þarfor þai ordaind. 164/712\* no more word. 164/713\* þare in.  
 164/719\* gret. 164/720\* þareto. 164/722\* Betwix. 164/723\* aungels.  
 164/725\* þe moued. 164/726\* wesch. 164/730\* who. 164/731\* my-  
 kell. 164/734\* knawen. 164/735\* many men þat. 164/737\* Sone when þe  
 Iewes. 164/741\* ordaind. 165/742\* ane other. 165/743\* trowed at.  
 165/744\* bi. 165/747\* gret. 165/750\* Vnto . . . qwene. 165/753\* grayd.  
 165/755\* þare of. 165/756\* honourd. 165/759\* þare on. 165/760\* fette.  
 165/762\* þat ilk. 165/765\* most. 165/768\* Gret. 165/769\* sythen  
 ogayn. 165/770\* Till. 165/771\* þat euer. 165/772\* sythen bare  
 our sauyoure. 165/774\* suffer. 165/775\* ordaind. 166/777\* cross.  
 166/778\* Of. 166/779\* Iew tok vp. 166/781\* red. 166/783\* mak a cross.  
 166/784\* Iewes on for to. 166/786\* rathely out of toune. 166/788\* thred.  
 166/789\* remenand. 166/790\* cross both. 166/791\* Aght. 166/793\* ayther.  
 166/794\* obouen . . . hed. 166/795\* þair. 166/797\* gud. 166/798\* þair.  
 1439 cross. 1441 Iewes. 1442 nayles. 1443 vntyll. 1444 bilyue.  
 1445 Mak vs thre. 1447 þair. 1449 mykell. 1452 þat he was prophete.  
 1453 þarfor. 1456 no. 1460a merk. 1463 þare on. 1465 Iewes.  
 1473 þai thret him in þair. 1475 shewed. 1476 Gret gudeneth thurgh  
 godes. 1481 Iewes. 1482 nomore. 1483 smythe wyfe. 1484 stryfe.  
 1485 Byfor þe Iewes als. 1486 spak. 1488 maledy. 1489 yhister euen.

1490 hi handes. 1494b myself I sall. 1497 Iewes helped. 1498 pat tre  
 nayles war made full tye. 1501 gret. 1502 forsoke. 1503 nayls.  
 1506 Vnto þai com. 1507 Iewes. 1508x manere. 1508b ded. 1509  
 assygned þai certain. 1512 truss. 1513 straue. 1515 sall. 1516 þare.  
 1520 myld. 1525 mykell. 1526 Bifore bihynd. 177/r\* weped.  
 177/5\* þair. 177/10\* beten. 177/13\* pass. 177/14\* Ane other way.  
 177/15\* noght at. 177/19\* outen toune. 177/20\* drerily. 177/21\* mykell.  
 177/24\* awen. 177/25\* tuled. 177/26\* couth. 178/27\* ryuen.  
 178/28\* sithen with dust all ouer dryuen. 178/30\* mykell sorow it was.  
 178/33\* ground. 179/34\* swound. 179/35\* Till him scho. 179.37\*  
 manhede. 179/38\* mournyng. 179/39\* folowd. 179/40\* mykell.  
 1528 namare. 1529 þair. *flere.* 1531 ye. 1532 Bethleem.  
 1533 morn. 1534 na. 1536 mourn. 1537 days. 1539 sall. 1541 warto.  
 1542 wicked werdes er vs biforn. 1543 warto. 1544 Better. 1545 hylles.  
 1546 vnto þe mountayns. 1547 fall. 1548 mountains. 1548a hi  
 deleted before vs. 1548c certaine. 1548d Blyssed be þe bodyse.  
 1548e world. 1548f yhow þan sall. 1550 meruayls yhit sall. 1551 Iewes.  
 1552 Drogh. 1552a mykell. 1552b maisters him about. 1555 soth.  
 1558a Iewes. 1558c bereyng of þe heuy. 1559 þair iournay. 1561 ert.  
 1562 has þou þi trauaile. 1563 omang. 1567 gret byrden. 1568 mykell.  
 1569 our. 1571 sall. 1572 Mikell. 1574b þareto. 1575 Iewes.  
 1576 bidene. 1582 Ogayns. 1586 mount of Caluery. 1586a olang þai  
 layd it doun. 1586b boune. 1587 þair wicked thoght forto fullffyll.  
 1588 And Ihesu. 1593 And said . . . clothes schere. 1594b bi. *scindamus.*  
 1595 wroght þair will. 1596 skorned him with outen skyll. 1604 doun.  
 1605 armes. 1606 bifore. 1606a als so. 1606b þair. 1608 rech.  
 1609 þe taa. 1610 þe tother fayled a fote. 1611 Iewes. 1612 þair  
 hertes had gret. 1614 þarfor gret. 1616 blode. 1620 rauue. 1621 gret.  
 1622a payns. 1622b vayns. 1623 fro. 1624 bifore. 1627 drogh.  
 1629 flessh and syn. 1630 skyn. 1630b fette. 1632 gret nayle tyte  
 tok. 1634 þai draue . . . thurgh. 1635 blode. 1636 nane.  
 1643 hegh. 1644 towch. 1645 fote. 1646b tok. 1646c cross.  
 1646d sythenfast þai lete fall. 1646e payns. 1646f vayns. 1646g And  
 so þai shogged. 1646j mykell. 1646k tyte. 1646m hanged þam.  
 1647 cryde. 1648a Our mykell. 1648d Ryght vp ogayn. 1649 Godes.  
 1650 com doun fra. 1655 awen hand ilk a word. 1656 festend it opon  
 a palme bord. 1658 myght it se. 1660 wryten. 1664 wryten.  
 1665 grew Ihesus. 1666 Iewes. 1677 Iewes þat it couth. 1678 war  
 euell. 1680 gret. 1681 Iewes. 1682 lely. 1683 iewes. 1684 rewes.  
 1684a he so him seluen. 1686 wryten. 1687 lat it stand. 1694a samen.

1698b our. 1700 our. 1700a our werkes with outer dred. 1700b our.  
 1701 hyder. 1703 Trayturly. 1704 sakles sall he here be. 1710 graunt.  
 1711 comes. 1712a myght. 1712c our our. 1715–1716 omitted.  
 1730a Bi. 1730d doune. 1730f euermare. 1730g maryse. 1730h Com-  
 forth. 1732 mykell. 1734 Ane other mary Maudalene. 1735 allso.  
 1739 loked. 1741 said. 1742a sted. 1742b Behald. 1744 behald.  
 1748 full mykel. 1749 scho was vmsett. 1750 blode. 1751 buke.  
 1753 mykell. 1756 pople. 1758 woundes. 1759 Behaldes if any other  
 pyne. 1760 lykkend. 1760c I dar say þare. 1760d mykell. 1762 payn.  
 1719 hynged<sup>1</sup>. 1720 threstes. 1722a fylled a spoung + broght it þider.  
 1722b togyder. 1724b After. 1727 tast. 1728 saule had he hast.  
 1766 kan. 1767 sonn. 1771 wex with outer. 1773 saue. 1774 temple  
 sonder rauue. 1775 diuerse. 1776 bodyse rays þat are was. 1782 gret.  
 1782c trembyld and all to. 1782d qwoke. 1784 Bitwix þe vnderon and  
 þe none. 1787 Hely Heloy. 1790 our. 1792 hastow. 1793 Iewes  
 þan þat stod. 1794 Heloy. 1795 Heloy. 1796 man in þair. 1796a  
 þarfor þai war all euell. *Videamus si veniat helyas ad deponendum eum.*  
 1796c after Hely. 1797 com till. 1798a calles him for som certaine skyll.  
 1798b þare tyll. 1803 pair. 1804b þare to. 1804d þe desese þai haue  
 don. 1804h pair. 1804i godes. 1638 whare on<sup>1</sup>. 1639 anely. 1640  
 esement. 1640a spak. 1806 gast. 1808 gast. 1808b toke  
 full gud. 1808c gast. 1808d hast. 1808f with outer. 1808g verray.  
 1808h þat here er. 1808i godes may. 1810 godhede. 1811 sone he  
 brak. 1812 Ogayns. 1814 wild. 1816 þair. 1817 Sathanas.  
 1823 payns. 1826 endeles. 1827e Of þe same our. 1826f both.  
 1826g rod. 1826j saule. 1827 sithen it bare our sayoure. 1828 honoure.  
 1828a saule. 1830 spek him gud wald. 1836 gud. 1837 Iewes had  
 þare at. 1838 presoun. 1839 payns. 1840 gud. 1840e þair.  
 Ioseph. 1844 rych man of gold and fee. 1846 halden. 1846b fayth.  
 1846d þes ferlies. 1846e ded. 1846f Wrangwisly with wicked red.  
 1847 þarfor. 1849 I yhe. 1850 graunt. 1852b þair counsail.  
 1852e no. 1852f sollempnite. 1852g red. 1852h it may. 1853  
 graunt. 1855 called. 1856a mownt. 1856b witerly. 1857 hynged.  
 1858 dede. 1862a Caluary. 1862b bydeand. 1862c mornand.  
 1863 vnto. 1864 assay. 1864b brak þai þair. 1864c mykell. 1866 knew.  
 1870 Longius for soth he hyght. 1871 And all if. 1873 cross. 1875  
 point. 1876a wist noght what. 1878 þe schere spere. 1878a Papp.  
 1880 our bote. 1880a wesch all our. 1880b blode. 1880d mayn.

<sup>1</sup> In the expanded version (H. T. P.) vv. 1719–30 follow v. 1764; and vv. 1637–40 b follow v. 1804j.

1880e Doun vnto þe erth scho draue. 1880f rauue. 1880h Comforth.  
 1880i war. 1880j mournyng was euer þe maste. 1881 Longuis stode  
 þat noble. 1885 god suld tak vengeance. 1886 ded. 1887 þar for on  
 knese doun. 1888a god all. 1888b poplyst. 1894 þare with.  
 1895 Iosep. 1896 þe cors doune. 1896a nayls. 1896b fette with  
 mykell. 1896c woundes. 1896d fette. 1896h Iewry. 1896l þare in  
 bifore had lygen. 1896t trowthe. 1901 oynament noble. 1902b wormes  
 suld towch þaretyll. 1903 all bydene. 1906 þider. 1908 þair.  
 1911 þai gatt. 1912 conandly. 1912a fytt. 1913 all till þare.  
 1914 þare. 1917 Iewes. 1918 counsail þam bitwene. 1920a þare  
 presence. 1920b gret reuarence. 1920c þarfor had þai gret envy.  
 1920i presoune. 1920l he was in. 1920m sperd. 1920o sithen þare  
 seles þai sett also. 1922a All samen for a sertain skyll. 1926 þat he  
 suld on þe thred. 1927 discipels. 1928b Iewes. 1930 fro ded on þe  
 thred. 1931 þarfor sir now red. 1932 bifor. 1934 To thre days be  
 comer. 1935 discipels will be boune. 1936a fayn þai. 1938 bi.  
 1940 rysen. 1940a-1940b omitted. 1944a Ordays. 1944b kan.  
 1945 lyfe. 1949 ordaind. 1950 wightest. 1952 armours of gud.  
 1954 thre days. 1954a þusgate. 1954d Ilk man. 1955 herkens.  
 1956 behoues. 1957 red. 1959 sal. 1960 Ane other . . . fette.  
 1961 sal sytt. 1962 betyde. 1962c Hardily I haue no dout. 1962d rout.  
 1965 þai sal heueded. 1966 four. 1967 þair. 1970 þair.  
 1971 Ogayns þe day þai fell. 1974 Rayse on þe thred. 1975 abyde.  
 1976 ouer. 1978 discipels. 1980 maudelene. 1981 þou sal *deleted*  
*before he.* 1982 discipels. 1983 rysen. 1985 Mary mi. 1986 Iohan.  
 1987 Peter Andrew. 1990 suthely sal þai. 1993 moder. 1994  
 discipels. 1996 And said how crist was rysen fro. 1998 rysen I wate  
 with outer. 1998a woundes. 1998b quyke. 1998c wend. 2000 my-  
 kell myrth was in þair. 2000b mykell. 2000c mykell. 2000e Sithen  
 war þai comforth. 2001 all þe ferlyse. 2003 þair. 2005 rysen + þethen.  
 2007 þair. 2011 loked. 2012d wonder. 2012e bedene. 2012f tyll.  
 2013 saw þe aungell 2014 doune fro. 2015 restand. 2016 þair.  
 2017 white. 2019 þar. 2020 doune þai fell als þai war ded. 2020a lygen  
 land. 2020b mykell mournyng. 2026 þarefra. 2027 rysen. 2029 Ane  
 other. 2032 All our. 2032a haue we lorn our. 2033 Ane other.  
 2034 bote. 2037 Ane other. 2038 þare es no better bote. 2038b hangen.  
 2038c þarfor go we hethen our. 2047 sal. 2048 said. 242'2\* þair.  
 242/3\* stode. 242/5\* Gud. 242/6\* sal. 242/7\* þair. 242 8\* Iewes.  
 242/10\* ded. 242/11\* þair. 242/13\* with outer. 242/16\* lyf.  
 242/17\* ferr on þe feld. 242/18\* wild bestes his banes may weld. 242/21\*

lokkes. 242/23\* All. 243/24\* nouther. 243/25\* rysen fro. 243/26\*  
 euen vnto. 243/28\* with outen. 243/29\* his cete. 243/30\* In  
 Aramathy. 243/31\* Iewes. 243/32\* awondred. 243/35\* our. 243/36\*  
 selcouth. 243/38\* qwyte. 243/39\* gret. 243/43\* presoune.  
 243/46\* hardiar. 2050 Iewes. 2051 soth. 2053 rysen. 2055 mykell.  
 2056 aungell. 2057 þare opon. 2059 aungell. 243/2\* Qwik. 243/3\*  
 Iewes gret. 243/4\* traytours so es it wroght. 244/10\* Hangen. 244/11\*  
 answerd sone in. 244/12\* carpéd. 244/13\* soth. 244/15\* ffor wonder.  
 244/17\* our. 244/19\* suthely. 244/20\* cowth. 244/22\* Rysen he  
 es and gane. 244/25\* þe kayes. 244/27\* þarfor all þis stryfe. 244/29\*  
 Iosep. 244/31\* Iewes þan thoght gret. 245/33\* aw. 245/35\* wele if  
 þat we. 245/37\* yheld. 245/38\* yheld. 245/40\* awen. 245/41\* all  
 so. 245/43\* Iewes. 245/44\* mykell. 245/46\* Our folk sall turne.  
 245/47\* counsail. 245/48\* kyd. 245/49\* He wend name. 245/50\*  
 wyse þai Ioseph. 245/52\* manere. 245/54\* sall þai leue our. 2064a our sawes.  
 2064b forgyuen. 2066a soume. 2066e yhe. 2067 mykell. 2068 graue  
 bi. 2068a Sodainly als yhe slepand. 2068b oway. 2068d with outen.  
 2069 And þis tresore to yhow we gyf. 2070a graunted. 2070b þair.  
 2072 þair. 248 1\* halely. 248/2\* Iewes. 248/3\* blode. 248/4\* mykell.  
 248/5\* our. 248/8\* ways. 248/9\* fullfyll. 248/12\* preciouuse. 249/14\*  
 vntill þair. 249/15\* blyssed. 249/16\* days of pardoune. 249/17\* gyfen  
 with gud. 249/18\* gud. 249/19\* þair. 249/20\* lesson. 249/22\* þou.  
 249/23\* our syn. 249/24\* our. 249/26\* with outen.

[At end of Rawl. MS. (f. 76) is "Explic — [&c.]," mostly illegible.]

## 4, 5. TWO FRAGMENTARY TEXTS

*Harleian 215.*

And moste hegheste of dignite*	300
Ihesu godnesse was noȝth to seke	
He toke a child þat was ful meke	
And sette hit doun hem among * <small>[fol. 161a]</small>	
Me þenkeþ he saide ihe habbet wrong	
Also meke ihe sholde be	307
So þat child ihe here yse	308
Who so beret him symple & stille	311
In baile he shal hauie alle is wille	312
And wo so beret him hext of alle	309
Out of baile he shal falle	310
I ne cam noȝth hider wiþ maistrie	313
To bere me heȝe wiþ enuye	
I am aredy to serui alle	
Of what þat ȝe wolleþ to me calle	316
Whan ihesu hadde said þat word	329
Vp he aros fro þat bord	
He aros vp wiþ milde chere	
And toke a basyn wiþ water clere	332
And a cloþ whit wiþ alle	
Ihesu fenge in þe halle	
To fore Peter vn knes he set	
And saide he wolde wasshe his fet	336
Peter spake & saide nay	
Ihe ne shal noȝt lord bi þis dai	
Hit ne falleþ noȝt to me	
Swich seruice to hauie of þe	340
Ihesu saide Peter bote ȝef y do	
Non of my blisse falleþ þe to	
In heue[n] in my fader riche	342a
And þo gan Peter for to siche	342b
Peter spake and oþer mo	
Lord noȝth nelle we þat forgo	344

## Harleian 215.

## Cotton Vespasian D. IX.

Wasch honden & fet we biddeþ þe  
 No þinge vn wasshe þat per ne be  
 And ihet forget þou noȝt þat heued  
 Vnwasshe þat it beo biledue 348  
*Ihesu him selfe sone anon*  
 Wesh his diciples euerich on  
 And sithe he dreides wiþ a cloþ  
 þat seruise beo ous neuere loþ 352  
 And whan he hadde wassh hem al  
 bidene  
 Adoun he sat hem bithene  
 And saide as he doun sat  
 Ich haue ido ȝe nete neuere what 356  
 ȝe clepet me ȝore lord alle  
 ȝe nete neuere what wole by falle<sup>1</sup>  
 ȝe clepet me lord & maister also  
 To fore ich haue ykneled ȝe to 360  
 And iwasshe ihole fet  
 Takeþ of me ensample ȝet  
 Also he<sup>2</sup> sholde do ech bi oþer  
 Also ihe were suster & broþer 364  
 A fair ensample ich haue iow ȝeue  
 To be meke while ȝow lyue  
 Of me þanne shulle he<sup>2</sup> haue mede  
 In heuene ich wole ȝo cloþ & fede\* 368  
 And alle þat euere suffriþ for me  
 In paynis oþer in sorwe be \*fol. 161b  
 In heue[n] þey shulle be wiþ me  
 Wiþ oute þende in Iolifte 372

<sup>3</sup> þe prophecie spekeþ of me for ȝoure  
 [sake]

Of þat deþ þat i sal take 376  
 To niȝth ȝe shulle be sore adrad  
 Whan þat y am fro ȝow lad

Ye clepyth me yowre lorde AH [fol. 191a]  
 Ye wote neuer what schaþ be faþ  
 Thow y be lorde & maister also  
 Before yow y have knelyed to  
 ffor to waschen yowre fete  
 Takyth ensample of me ytt  
 So schaþ euery man do tyþ other  
 Ryght as hij werne other Brother  
 A gode ensample y have yow yeve  
 To be mylde whyle ye lyve

Than seyde Ihesu weþ styþ  
 The tyme ys come to fuþfyþ  
 The prophecie for owre sake

Speketh of deth þat [y] schaþ take  
 This nyght he<sup>4</sup> schuþ be sore adrede  
 Whan that y am ffrom yow ledd

<sup>1</sup> 357-8 repeated: ȝe clepet me ȝore lord alle  
 ȝe neteþ neuere what while bifalle.      <sup>2</sup> read

ihe.      <sup>3</sup> vv. 375-6 follow v. 386.  
<sup>4</sup> read yhe.

## Harleian 215.

So faste shulle þe fram me fle  
 þat som of ȝow shal for sake me  
 Hit is iwrite ase y ȝow say  
 þut herde þat goþ in þe way

Ich am þat herde & ȝe þe shep  
 Ich shal be take ere time of slep

I sal deye & breke þe lay  
 And rise vpon þat pridde day  
 þanne ȝe shulle me finde and se  
 In þat lond of Galile  
 Whan Peter herde þat reuful tale  
 He wende haue do bote of bale  
 And saide lord þat sal neuere be  
 þat y þe sal bitraid se  
 I wile þe folwe þer þow wilt go  
 Amonge þi frend among þi fo  
 Peynes i wolle for þe take  
 To prison go for þi sake  
 ffor þe þanne<sup>1</sup> whilli take þat deþ  
 ne sal me neuere rewre þat red  
 þus saide is diciples alle  
 þat þer weren in þat halle

þanne saide ihesu Peter y graunti þe  
 A while þat þow folwe me  
 Or þe cok haþ pries breþ itake  
 þries þow wilt haue me for sake

Bote for ihoire fon þat wolles deren  
 Swerdes moste ȝow haue & beren  
 He þat haþ a kerdel to selle

## Cotton Vespasian D. IX.

380      ye schaft fro me fast fle  
           And sum of yow for sake me  
           Aþ ys wrytone that y saye  
           The herde when he goth by the waye  
           And his hounde go hym be syde  
 384      His Bestys spredene wonder wyde  
           I am the herde & ye the schepe  
           I schaft be nome or tyme of slepe  
           ffor yow y schaft be done to deth  
 388      Soche ys now the Iywes rede  
           y schaft dey and breke the laye [fol. 191b]  
           And ryse vpon the ij<sup>de</sup> daye  
           Than schaft ye fynde & se  
 392      In the londe of galale  
           Peter herde that rywfuþ tale  
           He whente to have ben bote of Bale  
           He sayde lorde hit schaft nott be  
 396      As longe as y may folow the  
           y wyþ the folowe where thow gone  
           Among thi frendys & thi ffoone  
           ffor the y wyþ paynes take  
 400      And go to prisone for thi sake  
           Wyth the y schaft take the deth  
           Schaft no man reue me that dede  
           This seyde the appostols aþ  
 404      That by hym sate<sup>1</sup> in haþ  
           Ihesu answeryd to that sawe  
           And seyde to Peter aþ with lawe  
           O thyng I graunt the  
 408      A while thow schalt folow me  
           Er the cok have thries breþ ytake  
           thries þou schalt me for sake  
           Do now as y yow teþ  
 412      Hit ys for goode that y yow speþ  
           ffor dowte of ham þat wyþ yow dere  
           Swerdys schuþ ye aþ bere  
           He þat none hath his kerteþ self

<sup>1</sup> MS. paune?<sup>1</sup> MS. sa deleted before sate.

## Harleian 215.

Bey a swerd contek to fulle  
 þanne saide on þat sat bi side  
 Lord for oþth þat may bitide  
 Swerdes haue we gode to  
 And oþre wepnes haue we mo  
 Ihesu answerde swythe stille  
 Takeþ noȝth my wordes on ille  
 Arised vþ & folweþ me  
 Here woll y no lenger be  
 To a toun þey toke þe gate  
 Me calleþ hit betonye þe bate

Ther ȝe shulleþ be abide  
 While þat i go here bi side  
 While þat y make my praiere  
 T[o] my fader þat is me dere  
 Whiþ þat word ihesu gan forþ wende  
 And tok wiþ him ȝre men hende  
 Peter & Ion & Iames is broþer  
 Ech he louede bet þanne oþer  
 And ladde hem wiþ wordis swete  
 To þe mount of oyluete  
 And saide to hem alle ȝre

## Cotton Vespasian D. IX.

416 And by hym a swerde conteke to foþ<sup>1\*</sup>  
 Than sayde on that sate be syde  
 Syre for thyng that may be tyde  
 y have redy swerdys two      \*[fol. 192a]

420 And other wepens also

424 Aryse he seyde and folow me  
 Here wyȝ y no lenger be  
 To another towne they toke ther gate  
 That mene clepene betany the Bate  
 þan seyde Ihesu weȝ styȝ  
 To his disciplis with goode will  
 Here ye schaȝ me abyde  
 The wyle y go here be syde  
 There y have sumwhat to sey  
 When y have don y come ayene  
 With that worde he gane forth wende  
 And toke with hym iiij mene hende  
 Peter Iohne & his brother  
 Euerych he louyd mo than other  
 he ladde hem with worde swete  
 To the monte of olyuete  
 Than seyde Ihesu to hem thre  
 He[re] ye schaȝ abyde me      440

432 Slepe nowght be wakyng  
 ffor drede my fflesch ys quakyn<sup>2</sup>  
 After this sone anon      443

436 He whent fro hem the cast of a stone  
 Vppon a hyȝ above þe towne      [fol. 192b]

On his knees he sett hym downe  
 Sone anone he gan<sup>3</sup> caȝ  
 His fader is name heyist of aȝ      448

ffader he sayde hiff hit may be  
 Late this deth passe fro me  
 but yff hit mot be so

<sup>1</sup> read fell.  
 lacking.

<sup>2</sup> Loop of final g  
<sup>3</sup> gaff deleted before gan.

*Harleian 215.**Cotton Vespasian D. IX.*

That me behouyth onys to do	452
y am redy to do thi wy <sup>H</sup>	
Erlych late lowde & sty <sup>H</sup>	
After this he siked sore	
His Anguise was mechih <sup>H</sup> þe more	
y dar sey that y we <sup>H</sup> wote	457
He swett blode from hed to fote	
There come downe from leuene lyght	
An ange <sup>H</sup> faire & bryght	460
To comforthe hym we <sup>H</sup> sti <sup>H</sup>	
As hit was his ffaders wy <sup>H</sup>	
After this he rose anone	
To his disciplis he gan gone	464
They were agreuyd of wakyng	
They had take grete spekyng	
Ihesu fonde hem slepyng a <sup>H</sup>	
Peter ffyrst he gan ca <sup>H</sup>	468
He seyde this ys nott thi dede	
That y Comaundyt or y yede	470

## NOTES

For notes on **C** 1\*-196\* (Vol. II, pp. 126-8) see below p. 193-94.

2/16.\* **H.** *iglische*.—Scribal error for “*inglische*.”

3/27\*-8.\* **H.** Cf. Bede, *Glossa ad Lucam IV* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 92, col. 367): “Antiquus hostis redemptorem humani generis debellatorem suum in mundum venisse cognovisset . . . dum esse hunc humilem conspicit Deum esse dubitavit.” Cf. also *Passion of Our Lord* (E. E. T. S. 49, p. 38), v. 36; *Cursor Mundi*, vv. 12930-33; *Castle of Love* (E. E. T. S. 98, p. 381), vv. 1035-6; *Northern Homily Collection* of Harl. 4196, fol. 43a:—

ffor he thoght if he had god hede  
To hunger suld he haue no nede  
þe suth of him fayn wit he wald  
To what scrtayn he suld him hald.

See also *The Charter of Christ* (ed. M. C. Spalding, *Bryn Mawr Monographs*, XV, Long Charter, B-Text), vv. 63-64; *York Plays*, XXII, vv. 19 ff.

3/49\*-50.\* **H.** Cf. vv. 13-14.

3/55\*-6.\* **H.** Cf. vv. 95-96; and *Northern Homily Collection* of Harl. 4196, fol. 61b:—

When ihesus lazarus had raised  
Sum of þe purple fast him praised.

11. **G<sub>5</sub>**. *hald*,—old. *h* is occasionally prefixed to a word beginning with a vowel; in **G<sub>5</sub>**: “hend” (end) 866; “hall” (all) 1641, 1749; in **G<sub>1</sub>**: “hende” (end) 372; “heuche” (each) 556; “here” (ear) 562; “herthe” (earth) 1602; and cf. *Introd.*, p. 22; in **I**: “heven” (even) 1039; in **C**: “wɪþ houte” II, 129,91; “hentred” II, 134/613. Cf. also Ellis, *English Pronunciation* (E. E. T. S., 7), pp. 431, 477, and Mätzner, *Altengl. Sprachproben*, II<sup>2</sup>, pp. 383-5.

þe hald lawys,—i. e. the dispensation of the Old Testament. Cf. Ludolphus de Saxonia, *Vita Christi* (Lyons, 1530), chap. xxii, fol. lxii: “Vnde Beda Quadragesimaieuniorum habet autoritatem; t in veteribus libris ex ieunio Moysi t helye: t in euangeliō: quia diebus dominus ieunauit demonstrans euangelium non dissentire a lege t prophetis”; and see *The Charter of Christ* (ed. M. C. Spalding, *Bryn Mawr Monographs*, XV, Long Charter, A-Text), vv. 201-2:—

þat fest lasted fourty dawes  
To do men knew my new lawes.

12a-12b. **I.** The rhyme *drynce* : *kynge* shows that the scribe’s pronunciation was nearer “*kynke*” than “*kynge*.” Similar rhymes in the poem *Caiphas* are commented on by Prof. Carleton Brown, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIX, 61. Cf. also Wulfstan’s *Homilies* (ed. Napier) “þingc” 305.7, 266.19; “cyninge” 137.3, etc.; and Napier, *Old English Glosses* (Oxford, 1900), p. xxx; “thinke” (sb.), *The Awowyng of King Arthur* (Robson’s *Three Metrical Romances*) LXII, 16; “henked” **C.** 1566; “dringke” **C.** 272. In a few texts the confusion has resulted in -*ng* being written for -*nc*; cf. “thing” (vb.) *Anturs of Arther* (Robson), XXV, 10; “thinge” (vb.) *Av. of K. Arth.* LVI, 16; “dring” **C.** 1725 (II, p. 144); and cf. Kölbing, *Attengl. Bibliothek*, II, p. xxi.

21-42. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 65.

21. *Sarezens* (**G**, **G<sub>1</sub>**, **A**, **C**, II, p. 129). —This curious error for "Pharezenes" (**Ad**) may have arisen from the similarity in spelling.

28a-28d. **H.** See vv. 41-42, and cf. John xi. 48.

29-30. The Fairfax MS. of *Cursor Mundi* varies the rhymes of the other texts, vv. 14526-27 :—

Cayphas saide in þat time  
Wordes many we may not rime.

Taken in connection with a second peculiarity parallel to our poem (cf. *Introd.*, p. 83, note 5), this appears to indicate a dependence of the Fairfax MS. (XV century) on the *Northern Passion*.

40. **G<sub>5</sub>**; *þa* (for other citations see Glossary) is rare enough to appear like a mere error for "hai." The six occurrences in this MS., however, establish the existence of the form. Perhaps this vowel may be due to the confusion between *a* and *ai* which is frequent in Scottish or Northern MSS. Cf. note on v. 394; "the" **I.** 1327, and note.

44. **I.** *Esterne daye*.—The term "Easter" is applied to the Jewish Passover as early as the *Blickling Homilies* (E. E. T. S. 58, etc.), p. 67: "Hælend cwom syx daȝum ær Iudea eastrum." Cf. also Anglo-Saxon *Gospel of Mark* (ed. Skeat, 1871, p. 108), xiv. 1: "Æfter twam dagum waeron eastron" (Vulgate: "Pascha et Azyma").

52—II. p. 151. **R.** The order should be: "were passedede thatt hye tyde," as in **H**.

55-56. The correct reading is probably preserved in **G<sub>5</sub>** and **G<sub>1</sub>**; the lines appear to mean: "until they should devise some other plan by which they might kill a man on that day" (*i. e.*, the Passover).

57. **G<sub>5</sub>**, *þe thyrd day*.—Other MSS. "sexta," and O. Fr. *Passion*, v. 33 (II, p. 103) "sis iorȝ," following John xii. 1. **G<sub>5</sub>** follows Matthew xxvi. 2, but differs from Matthew in that it represents the Entry into Jerusalem on the same day as Mary's Anointing. The weight of authority is against **G<sub>5</sub>** (cf. Augustine *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, Migne, 34, cols. 1152-54), chap. lxxviii.

58-90. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 65.

59-60. **H.** Cf. *Southern Passion* (Harl. 2277) fol. 5a :—

t toward his deþ as he wel wiste: toward his foman he rod,

both depending ultimately on Matthew xx. 18.

70a-70b. **H.** Cf. Matthew xxi. 3.

76. **G<sub>6</sub>**, *to hende*.—A rhyme-tag appearing to mean "at hand," "near by." Perhaps it is a corruption of "so hende."

85-6. In **Ad** these verses follow v. 90. In **C** (II, p. 129), vv. 87-88 follow v. 90, and fourteen verses are inserted after v. 86 (II, p. 129, vv. 86a-86n).

86k-86n—II, p. 129. **C.** The text is corrupt; the lines appear to mean: "Thirty of the Jews, carefully numbered, were sold for a penny, both of relations and of acquaintances. That was granted (decreed) by his word." I read "of" for "þorȝ" (86l); "Bothe" for "Bote" (86m); and "granted" for "graued" or "graned" (86n). The latter may be "graved," engraved, fixed deeply in the remembrance. The Destruction of Jerusalem is, of course, referred to. Cf. *Vindicta Salvatoris* (ed. Tischen-dorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 1876), pp. 484-5: "Et dixit Vespasianus De iis qui remanerunt quid autem faciemus? Titus respondit illi Iudaei vendiderunt dominum nostrum triginta argenteis: nos autem vendamus ex eis triginta pro uno argenteo. Et ita fecerunt."

93. **G<sub>5</sub>**, *For*, *forto*. Cf. also vv. 1511 and II, 137 1013; *Moral Ode* (Lewin, *Poema Morale*, 1881, p. 62), v. 182; and Layamon, *Brut*, vv. 13305-7:

Ich æm icumen þe þus næh  
for muchelere neode  
for suggen þe tiðende.

While the O. Fr. *Passion* II, 103 35-36, follows John xii. 1-11 Lazarus fuerat mortuus, quem suscitavit Jesus in merely referring to the raising of Lazarus, the English poem alters this to a statement that Lazarus was raised from the dead at this time.

99-100. Cf. *Cursor Mundi*, vv. 13986-87:—

A man þat hight symun leprus  
At ete he praid him til his hus.

And *Magdalena* [Auchinleck MS., ed. Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, 1878, p. 163], vv. 17-18:

In halle wiþ Simound leprous,  
Where sche fond him in an hous.

106-II, p. 130. **C.** *adon*.—adown. Mid. Eng. *o* (-O.E. *ɔ*) was pronounced close, approaching *ou*; so that the spelling *ou* for *o* is common (see “*foude*,” II, 130 130, and references in *Introd.*, p. 24). In “*adon*,” the confusion has acted in the reverse direction, so that *o* is put for *ou* (-O.E. *u*). Cf. “*dow*,” II, 127 130, “*abote*” II, 128 145\*; “*sonde*: *grond*” II, 142 1596-1598, etc., “*Don*” is found in Northern MSS.: *Cursor Mundi*, 63, 1782, *Priorie of Conscience* (ed. Morris, 1863), v. 2065; “*donfall*,” *Cursor Mundi*, 280; “*abote*,” *Cursor Mundi*, 192.

107-110. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 7 and *Northern Homily Collection* of Harl. 4196:—

fol. 65b þar-with sone scho enoynted þam þare  
And seþin dried þam with hir hare. . . .

fol. 86b Mari Magdalene þat rase  
ffra ded of syn and sare gan grete  
And with hir teres wesche cristes fete. . . .

fol. 120b Scho went whare ihesu crist was sett  
And for hir sins sare scho gret. . . .  
And afterward þan with hir hare  
To dri his fete wald scho noght spare. . . .

fol. 121b Scho sesed noght to wasche my fete  
With þe teres þat scho grete.

fol. 157 (printed by Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, n. F., p. 81), vv. 51-54.

113. **G.** *Wyth* is the adverb. Matzner II<sup>3</sup> 548 gives a similar use of “mid” from *Ancren Riwle* (ed. Morton, p. 372): “*Nicodemus brouȝtis swiȝtis oȝt late smidien mide ure Louerd, al riȝt so þe þeo Maries brouȝten deorewurthe aromaz uorte swiȝtis mide his bodi.*”

113b. **H.** *þe last godspell sauȝe one*,—i.e. the Gospel for Monday in Holy Week, relating the story of Mary’s Anointing. I quote from Horstmann’s table of the contents of Harl. 4196 (*Altengl. Leg.* n. F., p. lxxxii):

“66. Fer. II prox.: Joh. (12, 1-9) Ante sex dies pasche.

“67. Fer. V prox. (in coena): Joh. (13, 1 ff.): Ante diem festum pasche.

“68. Fer. VI prox. (in paracœde): *Passio domini nostri Jesu Christi s. Marcum, Math. Lucam et Johannem.*”

It will be seen that only the Gospel for Thursday in Holy Week intervenes between the story of Mary in John xii. 1-9, and the *Passion*. In P, which contains the *Passion* without the other Homilies, vv. 113b-113c are changed to read (II, p. 158):—

In þe gospell wha sa will luke  
þat sett es of hir in buke.

117-18. Cf. *Northern Homily Collection* of Harl. 4196 :

fol. 121b : And with hir oynement gude t swete  
Has scho well ennoit my fete. . . .

fol. 60a : And þat seþin hir bales to bete  
With hir teres wesche ihesu fete. . . .

fol. 65b : þe buste scho broght hir bales to bete  
And fell doun bifor ihesu fete.

131-2. **H.** Cf. *Introd.*, p. 4, note 2.

131. **I.** *settyth*.—Scribal error for “seyth.”

132a-132d. **H.**—Cf. *Introd.*, p. 76. For a discussion of the Judas legend, see Creizenach, *Judas Ischarioth in Legende und Sage des Mittelalters*, Paul und Braune's *Beiträge*, II, pp. 177-207.

135-6. Cf. *Northern Homily Collection* of Harl. 4196, fol. 65b :—

Pouer men may get almus to craue  
And me sal ȝe nocht euermore haue.

139. **G<sub>1</sub>.** *Men ne sschulle noth yeye þos longe.* Since þ and y are made alike in this MS., and only occasionally distinguished by a dot, the word “hehe” (on p. 17, n. 6) should be read “yeye”; and the meaning is: “Men shal not long thus cry out against her.” For a similar intransitive use of “yeye,” see *Codicem Manu Scriptum Digby* 86 (ed. Stengel, Halle, 1871), p. 97, st. 30: “Helpeþ hit nouȝt þenne to zeȝen ne to reme;” and Layamon, *Brut*, vv. 27750-51: “þa ȝeiden lude / alle Rom-leode.”

142a. **F.** *Hir mede shall in graue be leyde.*—Why Mary's reward should be buried in a grave is not clear. The scribe was perhaps confused by a recollection of Matthew xxvi. 12.

148. **G<sub>1</sub>.** *his*.—Scribal error for “this.”

148-51. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 60, and *Northern Homily Collection* of Harl. 4196, fol. 66b :—

He thought he wald no langer dwell  
Bot to þe iews he wald him sell.

161-3. With the French original of these lines (II, 104, 135, 37) cf. Robert de Boron's poem (Furnivall, *Seynt Graal*, Roxburghe Club, 1861, Appendix to Vol. I), vv. 293-94 :—

L'uns en sa bourse pris les ha  
Et tantost Judas les donna.

19/1\*-21/46\*. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 76.

20/21\*-22\*. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 4, note 2.

172a-172b. **H.** Cf. *Introd.*, p. 4, note 2.

179. **G<sub>5</sub>.** *þan*.—Scribal error for “þam.”

181-82. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 90, note 3.

183-II, p. 130. **C.** *geþ*.—Scribal error for “griþ.”

185. *þe lord of þe house*.—The O. Fr. text omits all mention of the master of the house (II, 104/148-56). The *North. Pass.* is nearer Luke xxii. 10-11.

In the *Hegge Plays*, it will be remembered (cf. *Introd.*, p. 99, note 7), the same Simon the Leper who entertained Jesus at Bethany (Matthew xxvi. 6) is the host at the Last Supper. This form of the tradition also occurs in Robert de Boron's versified *Roman du Saint Graal* (Furnivall, *Seynt Graal*, Roxburghe Club, 1861, Appendix to Vol. I), vv. 375-79 :—

Diex fu en la meison Simon,  
Et il et tout si compeignon  
Judas eut les Juis mandez  
Et l'un après l'autre assemblez :  
En la meison Symon entrerent.

The compiler of the *Hegge Plays* may very well have known this romance written at the end of the twelfth century (cf. Suchier and Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der Französischen Litteratur*, 1900, p. 132). Cf. also *Passion de Ste. Geneviève* in a MS. of the middle of the fifteenth century (Jubinal, *Mystères Inédits*, II, 167 ff.).

204. **F.** *alle wreith*.—Perhaps a corruption of “alle was greith.”

[208. **G<sub>5</sub>**, *dryng*.—Possibly (1) a verb “to serve” from “dreng,” “dring,” (sb.) originally a feudal tenant (cf. Maitland, *English Historical Review*, V, 628 ff.), later “a wretch,” “a poor fellow.” Cf. the citations in Jamieson, *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, II, 110; and Stewart, *Cron. Scot.*, III, 278, “ane wrache or dring” (quoted in N.E.D.). Or “dryng” may be (2) a scribal error for “bryng.”]

213-14. See *Introd.*, pp. 63-64 (1). Long after the fish as a symbol had disappeared from Christian art, it was represented as the food of Jesus at the Last Supper (cf. the references in Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion*, p. 29\*, note 4). It forms an important part of the Eucharistic banquet in Robert de Boron’s poem on Joseph of Arimathea (cf. the summary in Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, 1888, p. 64 B). It is also the principal food in the supper at Simon the Leper’s pictured in Fitzwilliam MS. 20, fol. 18b (reproduced in James, *Catalogue of the MSS. in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Plate I). Petit de Julleville quotes the *Passion* of Jean Michel (*Histoire du Théâtre en France*, II, 444): “est a noter qu’on ne servira que de poisson et de beurre ’ attendu que la scène est en carême.”

213-14. **H.** Cf. *Introd.*, p. 4, note 2.

219. **I.** *Syth*.—Scribal error for “etyth.”

227-30. **A** (p. 26, note 3).—These verses, which occur only in **A**, are numbered as part of the original poem, rather than as an addition, because they appear to correspond to vv. 198-202 of the O. Fr. *Passion* (II, p. 105). The ultimate source is 1 Cor. xi. 29; probably the lines of **A** (late fifteenth century) are an independent adaptation of the scriptural passage.

239-42. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 75.

240. **G<sub>1</sub>**, *kingk*.—Cf. note on 12a-12b.

240-11, p. 130. **C.** *wide zore*.—Scribal error for “wide whore.”

249. **G<sub>5</sub>**, *Who be þat man*.—“Who” is a form of the substantive “wo” (cf. **G<sub>1</sub>**). *Wh* for initial *w* is not unusual in **G<sub>5</sub>**; e.g., “whas” 1129, “whar” (vb.) 1151, 1541; “whenys” 1231; “whe” 1470, 2084. Cf. William of Shoreham, *Seven Deadly Sins* (E. E. T. S., LXXXVI, p. 98), v. 21: “And senne makeþ al þe who,” also vv. 29, 46; and cf. Glossaries of *Morte Arthure*, *Rule of St. Benet*, etc.

*Ad* changes the construction, and makes “wha” a pronoun.

254. **G<sub>5</sub>**, *wakenyd*.—Scribal error for “qwaked.” Cf. “whake,” *Towneley Mysteries*, VII, 182; “whikened,” *Lay Folks Catechism* (E. E. T. S., 118, p. 28), v. 150; “whoke,” *Sawley Moule’s Version of Castle of Love* (E. E. T. S., 98, p. 426), v. 668.

271 ff. Cf. *Introd.*, pp. 62-3, 66.

287. **G<sub>5</sub>**, *wodir*.—Scribal error for “wondir,” due to the omission of a stroke. Similar errors occur in “euenig” **H** 518b; “feden” **I** 575; “murnig” **H** 149/169\*, etc.

287e. **G<sub>1</sub>**, *þe wangeliste*.—The initial *e* is elided when the definite article precedes. Cf. *Cursor Mundi* (Gött.), v. 13977 and *Rouland and Vernagu* (E. E. T. S., XXXIX), v. 153.

287h. **G<sub>1</sub>**, *maunde*.—Cf. N. E. D. *Maundy*, especially 2; and *Hegge Plays* (Shakespeare Soc., 1841), p. 259: “Lord ! where wolte thou kepe thi maundé ?”

297-308. Cf. *Introd.*, pp. 82-3.

321. **I.** *mone*.—An error for “mode,” as shown by the rhyme word “stode.” The eye of the scribe was deflected by “myne” in the line above.

327–8. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 66 and note 3.

361. **H.** Cf. *Introd.*, p. 4, note 2.

372. **F.** *holite*.—Cited by N. E. D. only from this passage; probably an error for “iolite.”

384. **G<sub>5</sub>.** *srendes*.—Scribal error for “spredes.”

394.—**G<sub>5</sub>.** *wenynd*.—Scribal error for “wenyd,” or “weynd”; cf. “heynd,” 197, 434, 784; “weynd,” 198, 433; “staile,” 213; “feynd,” 783; “faynd,” 1069; “wayte” (: “wrate”) 1654; “vnheying” (: “ende”) 1729; “vnhenynd” (: “wenyd inf.”), 1855; “wenyd” (*inf.* : “end”), 2087; “zeide” **A**d 960, “whayme” **A**d 2080. The insertion of *i* or *y* after a long vowel is common in Northern MSS. of the second half of the fourteenth century and later. It first appeared in districts where the diphthong *ai* was so confused with *a* in pronunciation that the two could be rhymed together, and were often used indifferently; cf. Morsbach, *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, pp. 190–1.

409–10. Cf. *Prick of Love* (E. E. T. S., 98, p. 290), vv. 815–16:—

And petur þryes wiþ-Inne a browe  
ffor-sok him, ar cok hedde þries crowe.

410—II, p. 132. **C.** *wouen*.—The rhyme word “krowen” shows that “wouen” = “wowen.” Perhaps we should read “krowed: vowed.” *W* is occasionally found for *v* (cf. note on 1774), and *v* for *w* (cf. note on 668). “Vow” is a weak verb in Mid. Eng.; and “crowe,” originally strong, acquired a weak past participle in the sixteenth century, (cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, IV, iv, 3).

410i–410j. **H.** Cf. *Northern Homily Collection* of Harl. 4196, fol. 6a:—

And in hir hert scho had grete thoght  
Thurgh his wordes what suld be wrought.

411—II, p. 132. **C.** *Hos*.—Scribal error for “Dos.”

423. **A.** *sytyh*,—“sit,” imperative plural. A similar form is “weytēh,” **A**. 941, from “wite,” to know, to learn.

426. *Betany be bate*.—The epithet is obscure. According to some scholars “Bethany” is a transliteration of the Hebrew for “House of the Ship,” (see *Encyclopædia Biblica*, art. “Bethany”). Perhaps “bate” means “lesser” (cf. “abate”).

452—II, p. 132. *þat y ssall nedinge þerto*,—that I must necessarily go to this (*i. e.* suffer this). “Nedinge” is for “nedings,” the adverb which appears in *Cursor Mundi*, vv. 2450, 5926.

474. **F.** *fordynge*.—Scribal error for “fondynge.”

498. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 62.

508. **F.** *slacun*.—The verb “slake” is weak; I have not found the strong past participle elsewhere.

509–10. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 66.

509. **I.** *waht*.—Cf. the metathesis of *h* with a preceding vowel in “wyht,” *English Metrical Homilies* (ed. Small, p. 67).

51/r\*–53/20\*. **H.** Cf. vv. 519–24.

515. **G<sub>5</sub>.** *gloues*.—Scribal error for “glaues,” “glayues.” *Glyues* (**T**) occurs in *Sir Ferumbras* (E. E. T. S., XXXIV), v. 3275.

517–18. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 8.

524. **G<sub>1</sub>.** *gyem*.—Scribal error for “yhe hym.”

528. **A.** *þhouht*.—An original *f* seems to have been altered to a *t*. One would expect “souht”; but all the other texts except **F** read “thought.”

563. **H.** Cf. *Introd.*, p. 83. The Malchus mentioned in the gospels as the soldier whose ear Peter cut off, became in later tradition one of the chief tormentors of Christ. Cf. the suggestion in Peter of Blois (Migne, 207, col. 1129), “Malchus in Christi faciem”;

and in the Greek *Acta Pilati* (ed. Tischendorf, *Evang. Apoc.*, p. 289, note 4). He played an active part in the drama; cf. *Passion de Ste. Geneviève* (Jubinal, *Mystères Inédits*, Paris, 1837, pp. 184 ff.); the *Passion* copied at Semur (Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion en France*, I, pp. 128 ff.); German *Passion* (Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, 1846, II, pp. 269 ff., 164–5). Cf. also Roy (*op. cit.*), pp. 59\*–60\*.

570. **C.** (II, p. 133), **F.** **A. gale**,—i.e. happiness (<O.E. “gâl,” lust, pleasure, cf. O. Fr. “gale,” mirth). Cf. *Cursor Mundi*, vv. 8709–10:—

and aiþer wald þei haf it hale,  
Bot þai mai neuer com to þat gale,

where Gött. MS. substitutes “tal,” account.

*Sale* (**G<sub>1</sub>**) may be (1), “happiness” (<O.E. “sáel”). Cf. *Avowyng of Arther* (Camden Soc., 1842), st. LXIII, 2–3:—

“Sir,” he sayd, “as have I sele,  
I wille thou wote hit iche dele;”

or (2), a figurative use of “sale,” bargain.

571—II, p. 133. **C. draue**.—Scribal error for “craue.”

575. **F. feden**.—Scribal error for “fenden.”

584. **F. of-thorne**.—Scribal error for “of-torne,” or “of-shorne.” *Of-corn* (**G<sub>1</sub>**; and cf. **G<sub>1</sub>** 716) is a variant spelling of “of-schorn.”

623–34. John procures Peter’s admission to the hall of Caiaphas, and later escapes, leaving his cloak in the hands of his enemies. This incident, which is found also in the O. Fr. *Passion*, vv. 550–66 (II, p. 110) represents a fusion of John xviii. 15–16 and Mark xiv. 51–52. In neither passage is John named, but he was early identified with the “adolescents” of Mark (cf. Gregory the Great, *Moralium*, Migne, 75, col. 1068). The combination of the two passages is found in *The Passion of Our Lord* (E. E. T. S., 49, p. 43), vv. 221–36.

635–6. **H.** Cf. *Introd.*, p. 4, note 2.

636. **D. iewiþ**.—Scribal error for “iewis,” probably due to the “wiþ” immediately following.

645. **H. himself**.—The same construction occurs in the Trinity *Homilies* (E. E. T. S., 53, p. 121): “also him self seið”; and Robert of Gloucester, *Chronicle* (Rolls Series), v. 271: “Mani was be gode bodi þat himself slou a day.”

646. **H. Righ**.—**P.** (II, p. 161) reads correctly “Ryght.”

656. **G<sub>5</sub>. wonid**.—Scribal error for “wondid.”

668. **G<sub>5</sub>. vnuyse**.—Other instances of the use of *u* (*v*) for *w* occur in **G<sub>5</sub>**: “vynter,” 935; “vnvyn” 1242; “vex” 142, 62\*, and in **G<sub>1</sub>**: “ver” 845, “vinne” 1242. These *u* (*v*) forms are not uncommon in Northern MSS.; cf. Edinburgh MS. of *Cursor Mundi* (E. E. T. S., *Introd.*, p. 129\*), “verd,” 22742; “verk” 22541; Barbour, *Bruce* (Scot. Text Soc., 33), Glossary under *V*.

668a–668j. **H.** Cf. Luke xxii. 67–68, 70.

677—II, p. 134. **C. spidende**.—Scribal error for “spiten.” The change of *t* to *d* is paralleled by “hordið,” **G<sub>1</sub>** 1462. The construction of present participle after “gan,” I have not found. In the phrase “he began singing,” “singing” is a verbal noun (cf. N. E. D., “begin,” sense 2).

678. **G<sub>1</sub>. Gounid**.—The MS. reading is really “gound,” corrected from “goumd.” This is from “gone,” more often “gane” (O.E. “geónian”), to yawn. Cf. Mätzner *s.v.* “zeonien.”

680. **G<sub>5</sub>. pace**.—Scribal error for “place.”

687. **D. dore entre**. The rhyme with “so” establishes this as a form of the noun “entre,” entrance; of the similar phrase cited in N.E.D. (*s. v.*, entry 10) from Tyndale, Acts xii. 13; “Peter knocked at the entry dore” (Vulglate: “ostium januae”), and cf. *Destruction of Troy* (E. E. T. S., 39), v. 1600, and pp. xli–xlii.

688. **G<sub>5</sub>**. *tone* and 694 *mystone*,—both rhyming with “onone.” Cf. *Sir Tristrem* (Scottish Text Soc., VIII), v. 1484 “ton : don”; Douglas, *The Palice of Honour* (ed. Works, Edinburgh, 1874, I, p. 32), v. 17 “ton : Demophoon”; cf. also *Destruction of Troy* (E. E. T. S., 39), v. 5191; *Rule of St. Benet* (E. E. T. S., 120), v. 2112; Dunbar, *Poems* (Scot. Text Soc., IV), XLVI, v. 102. Curtis (*Anglia*, XVI, 403-4) thinks “tone” was changed from “tane” by a Northerner trying to write in Southern dialect.

691. **G<sub>5</sub>**. *wheyn*.—This is probably the same as “when” 1223 (< O.E. “hwanene”) with *y* inserted as in “weynd” (cf. note on 394); though since þ and *y* are alike in this MS. it might also be read “wheþn” (< O.E. “hweþen”). The form without a connecting vowel after þ would be rare.

694. *Par ma fay*, **I**, *par fay*.—French phrases or ejaculations are not uncommon; cf. “parauenture” **H**. 149/119\*, and “belamy” **H**. 1444.

705-6. Cf. Matthew xxvi. 73. These two lines in **D** should be lowered so as to stand opposite 705-6 in **H**.

715 ff. Cf. *Introd.*, pp. 64, 83, and see note on v. 563.

745-82. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 66.

774a. **H**. *Lad*.—Similarly in *York Plays* (XXIX, 390) “lad” is used contemptuously; cf. also *Morte Arthure* (E. E. T. S., 8), vv. 4093, 4190, 4302, cited by Björkmann in *Minneskrift . . . Axel Erdmann* (1913), p. 50.

796. **I**. *flemyn*.—Usually found with a preposition (of, from, etc.), as in **G<sub>5</sub>**, etc. The ellipsis of the preposition is also found in Fabyan, *Chron.* VI, ccxiii, 229: “Algarus was accused by malyce, and flemyd the lande” (N. E. D. s. v. *fleme*, 1 b.).

*wilde* (**Ad**) is probably for “wille,” since the present tense should accompany “nowe.”

800. **H**. Cf. Nassington’s poem (E. E. T. S., 26, Rev. ed.), v. 203: “And thyne eghne with a clathe þey hide.”

805-6. Cf. *The Charter of Christ* (ed. M. C. Spalding, *Bryn Mawr Monographs*, XV), Long Charter, **B**-Text, vv. 155-6:—

And so ii stooðe boundene al þat nyghte  
Tyl one þe morowe þat it was daye lyghte.

811-14. Cf. Resurrection poem of Ashmole 61 (ed. Horstmann, Herrig’s *Archiv LXXXIX*, p. 441):—

9-10 The Jues þei toke þer gate,  
To þei come to sir Pylate. . . .  
6-7 With-outen hym we may not do  
The thingis þat touch þe croune vnto.

814. **G<sub>5</sub>**. *þe couent*,—for “þef[m] couent.” A Latinism (*convenit*) = was fitting for them.

816. **H**. *Iury*,—the land of the Jews, Judea (see also **H**. 919, **H**. 1246, **H**. 1796, **H**. 1896h, **H**. 2062). Note the peculiar use of “þaire iewry” 1796 and “ȝowre iewry,” 1246. In **H**. 164/710\*: “þan goddes þat in þe iewri ware,” the meaning is, perhaps, “the Jewish quarter,” “the Ghetto” (cf. Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, B. 1679). The reference to the idols of the Jews may be compared with the oath “be þair god Mahowne” (2073).

830. **H**. *A rightwis blude*—“Blude” is occasionally used of a person; see *Genesis and Exodus* (E. E. T. S., 7), v. 1191-2:—

A ȝusant plates of siluer god  
Gaf he sarra ȝat faire blod;

and *Cursor Mundi*, v. 1055: “þis Abel was a blissed blod.” But in **H** a suggestion probably came from Matthew xxvii. 4: “tradens sanguinem justum.”

834. *turned*,—appears to mean “returned upon me,” and hence “multiplied.”

854. **G<sub>5</sub>**. *schete*,—the infinitive < O.E. “ sceotan,” to shoot. *Schette* (**Ad** 853) is a weak past from the same verb. *Schette* (**I**) is an adverb (> O.E. adj. “ sceot,” quick), which occurs also in 861 and **G<sub>1</sub>** **Ad** 963.

*Asket* (**G<sub>1</sub>**) may be (1) an adverb meaning “ quickly,” formed on the basis of O.E. “ asceotan”; or (2) an error for “ aslet”; cf. *Prompt. Parv.* (E. E. T. S., CII, 16), “ Aslete, oblique, aduerbium.” More probably it is (3) an error for “ and sket,” or “ t sket.” The phrase “ sone and skete” occurs in **I** 853 and **Ad** **G<sub>1</sub>** 963, also in *Towneley Mysteries*, VII, 221.

*With a bow skete* (**A** 861), appears to mean “ with a bow-shot” (cf. O.E. “ gesceot,” a shooting, hurling).

856c–856d. **H**. Cf. Peter Comestor, *Hist. Schol.* (Migne, 198, col. 1624), chap. clxii. 862a–862f. **H**. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 77.

865. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 60.

874. **H**. *corbanan*.—“ The sacred Treasury in which the gifts for the Temple, or the alms-box in which the gifts for the poor, were kept” (*Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v. “ *Korban* ”). The word is not frequent in Middle English; cf. *Cursor Mundi* (Cott.), v. 16537.

876. **H**. Supply “ es ” after “ it,” as in **P** (II, p. 162).

876b. **I**. *Sadyl*.—(1) Possibly a corruption of “ sealyl,” wrong, injury; cf. *Morte Arthur* (E. E. T. S. 8), v. 1642. Or (2) a scribal error for “ catyl.”

881. *Theuys* (**I**, **G<sub>1</sub>**, **C**, II, p. 136); *Iewis* (**G<sub>5</sub>**, **Ad**, **F**, **A**).—The scribes often wrote “ Iewis” by mistake for “ Theuis” as in 1523 (**G<sub>5</sub>**, **I**, **F**, **C**, II, p. 141), and 1691 (**I**, **F**). *Strue* (**G<sub>1</sub>**), (**F** *stry*) is the correct reading. *Strewyene* (**Ad**) is a mere variant in spelling. In **A** the scribe has substituted *strew*, to scatter.

894. **G<sub>1</sub>**. “ So deceived was never man as by this money.”

918. *kast asoigne*,—a legal phrase meaning “ enter an excuse”; cf. Robert of Brunne, *Chronicle*, v. 291: “ I may not cast essoyn, bot felow my somons” (N. E. D., s. v., *essoin*, sb. 6. In **C** (II, p. 136), the phrase is corrupted to “ lest asone.”)

922a–922n. **H**. Cf. Matthew xxvii. 12–14.

928. **I**. *Ispytte*.—Scribal error for “ *Ispylte*.”

936a–936d. **H**. Cf. John v. 18, and Luke xxiii. 2.

941. **A**. *weyten*.—Cf. “ *sytyh* ” **A**. 423, and note.

950. **I**. “ he (Herod) schal don hym (Jesus) sweryn (allegiance) to me.”

960. **Ad**. *lykange*.—A hybrid form from “ *lykande*,” the Northern pres. pple., and “ *lykinge*,” the verbal noun.

995–96. *threte : bete*,—changed in **Ad** to “ *threpe* ”: “ *bete*.” Cf. “ *take* ”: “ *skape*,” 1027–28 (**G<sub>5</sub>** “ *take* ”: “ *schake* ”).

1013—II, p. 137. **C**. *for calle*. Cf. note on “ *for dryfe*,” 93.

1016. *þat we waiten him with schame*.—This is the correct reading from which **F** and **Ad** are corrupted by the omission of “ with.” Cf. *Cursor Mundi* (Fairf.), 899, “ þou sal wayte wommon with schome”; cf. also 7833.

In **I** (“ þat ȝe wyten Ihesu al thys schame”), “ *wyten* ” is the verb “ to impute,” “ to blame”; cf. *Prompt. Parv.* (E. E. T. S., CII), 546, “ *wytone* or *rekone*, *Imputo*”; *William of Palerne* (E. E. T. S., I), v. 458, “ Whom schal I it wite but my wicked eyiȝen;” and v. 4600.

1034c. **H**. *leþerly*.—See note in *Minneskrift . . . Axel Erdmann* (1913), p. 51.

1036. *in his heuyd*,—i. e. “ to his (Pilate’s) face”; or possibly the phrase is to be connected with “ *greuyd*.” The first interpretation is favoured by **G<sub>1</sub>**: “ *speken in his hede*.”

1061 ff. Cf. *Introd.*, pp. 60, 78.

1076. **G<sub>1</sub>**. Something is omitted; perhaps one might restore the line: “ *Tristilich in hir [a luke he] caste*.”

1090. **I**. *domesgate*.—The gate of the city, in Biblical phraseology, was the place of judicial assemblage; cf. N. E. D. *gate* sb<sup>1</sup>, 2.

1137. *len*.—Cf. **H** 249, 7\*, 23\*. The two verbs “ *lene* ” (< O.E. “ *lænan*,” to grant,

give) usually with an accusative of the thing granted; and "leue" (< O.E. "lifan," "lefan," to permit, allow) usually with an object clause, are often indistinguishable in MSS., owing to confusion between *u* and *n*. Where the word lacks final *e*, we may assume that *len* was intended, since *u* would require a supporting vowel. Skeat (note on *Cant. Tales*, B. 1873) is probably mistaken in stating that "len" is not found in the sense of "permit" with a dependent clause. For example cf. *Cursor Mundi* (Galb.), v. 27820: "God len us to forgif man kyn"; *English Metrical Homilies*, p. 125: "Our Lauerd len us that we mai . . ." *Sir Eglamour* (ed. Schleich, *Palaestra*, 53), v. 144; "Cryste len, þat ze part frende." See also citations in N. E. D. under *lend* 2, b.; *Piers Plowman*, (A), V, 263: "God lene þei so mote" (changed by Skeat); *Legend of Good Women* (4 MSS.), 2083: "And lene me never swich a eas befallé"; *Cant. Tales*, D. 1644 (Harl. and Petw. MSS.): "And lene this sumnour good man to bicome"; *Cant. Tales*, B. 1873 (Lansd. MS.): "Then he is now god lene us for to mete"; Böddeker, *Altengl. Dicht., Geistl. Lieder*, III, vv. 105-6: "God vs lene of ys lyht þat we of sontes habben syht."

1144. "That were not familiar or well-known in former times." Cf. *Emare* (E. E. T. S., XLIX), vv. 1030-31:—

Thys ys on of Brytayne layes,  
That was vseyd by olde dayes.

1190. **G<sub>5</sub>**, als ȝhe wyll fall,—i. e. as is fitting for you. "ȝhe" appears to be a scribal error for "ȝhow."

1190a-1190f. **I**. The release of Barabbas, which occurs in all the MSS. at vv. 1277-8, is here anticipated, perhaps following the order of Mark xv. 15. In Mark, however, the crucifixion follows immediately on the scourging; while in the poem, it is separated from the scourging by several incidents.

1192 ff. Cf. *Introd.* p. 76, note 1.

1197-8. Cf. *Sawley Monk's Version of Castle of Love* (E. E. T. S., 98, p. 425), vv. 613-14:—

He was tane as a thef, t bounden wonder fast,  
t bette with hard knotty stringes whil thei wold last.

1203. **F**. *purpalle*.—Scribal error for "purple palle."

1205-6. Cf. *The Charter of Christ* (ed. M. C. Spalding, *Bryn Mawr Monograph XV*), Long Charter, A-text, vv. 157-8:—

And a-lowede crie on hir scornynge  
welcome be thou Iwys kynge.

1210c-1210d. **H**. Cf. William of Nassington's poem (E. E. T. S., 26, Rev. ed.), vv. 225-6:—

Of wilke þe prykkes ware swa scharpe þane.  
That þey percede nere thurgh þi herne panne;

and *Pricke of Conscience* (ed. Philological Society, 1861, p. 144), v. 5298: "When þe thornes hym prikked til þe harn-pane,"

1218a-1218x. **H**. Cf. vv. 1249-64.

1218e-1218f. **H**. Cf. also vv. 1253-4, 1273-4, and William of Nassington's poem (E. E. T. S., 26, Rev. ed.), vv. 231-32:—

Sythene was þou demede at þe Jewes voyce,  
Thurgh Pilate to be hynged on þe croyce.

1218m. **H**. cheuis ȝow and him,—you and he look out for yourselves.

1243-4. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 8.

1244a-1244g. **H**. Cf. John xix. 13.

1249–50. Pilate said, “Is it your request, to condemn a man without knowing why?”

1279–1280h. **H.** Cf. Bede, *Parænetica* (Migne, 94, col. 566); Bonaventura, *Meditationes Vitæ Christi* (Venice, 1512, p. 41): “Spoliatur ergo t nudus est coram tota multitidine t nunc tertia vice renouantur fracture propter pannos ad carnem applicatos”; Ludolphus de Saxonia, *Vita Christi* (Lyons, 1530), Pt. II, ch. lxiii, fol. ccclxiib, col. 1: “Spoliatur autem cum maximo dolore t renouantur in eo fracture: quia vestis interior propter sanguinem flagellationis fortiter corpori adhærebat.” Cf. also *The Privity of the Passion* (ed. Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, I, p. 205) and William of Nassyngton’s poem (E. E. T. S., 26, Rev. ed.), vv. 217–20.

1292a–1292d. **I.** Cf. vv. 1383–1411.

1297 ff. Cf. *Introd.*, pp. 67–70.

1305–6. **I.** These lines give the substance of the O. Fr. *Passion*, vv. 1189–92 (II, p. 119). In the *North. Pass.*, however, the angel brings three rods, instead of one.

1327. **I.** *The*,—they. Cf. “*þe*” **G**<sub>5</sub> 1596. “The” as the antecedent of the relative is not uncommon (cf. *Moral Ode*, E. E. T. S., 34, p. 294, vv. 217, 219); as a nominal subject it occurs in Robert of Brunne, *Chronicle* (Rolls Series), 356/10, 198. Cf. “*þa*” 40, and note.

1336. **G**<sub>1</sub>. *wa*. Read “*wa[s]*.”

1368. *lokeneden*,—probably a scribal error for “*lokeden*.”

1370—II, p. 140. **C.** *of þe þoþer*.—Since “*þoþer*” is a contraction of “*þe other*,” “*þe þoþer*” is a pleonasm. It was perhaps used in imitation of “*þe toþer*” (from “*þat oþer*”).

1374—II, p. 140. **C.** Supply “*be*” after “*noȝt*.”

1387–1400. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 8.

1394. *Rowe* appears to be figurative. The line in **D** (and **A**) “whan as he diide þer in rowe,” suggests the use in a passage cited in N. E. D. under vb. 6: *Stasys of Jerusalem* (ed. Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg. n. F.*, p. 363), v. 561: “When Thomas hadde rowyd in his wonde.”

1415. **F.** *tronys*.—(1) Possibly this is from “*trone*” = “a wooden pillar or post set up in a market-place and supporting a horizontal beam on which were hung the town scales for weighing wool, and other articles” (*Cent. Dict.*, “*tron*,” and cf. citation, s. v., “*trone*,” from Child’s *Ballads*, VII, 143). (2) More probably “*tronys*” is for “*cronys*,” crowns, tops, ends.

1424. Originally the text probably read “*smelle*”: “alle”; cf. the story in Mandeville, quoted in *Introd.*, p. 69. “*Smelle*” must have been changed to “*smalle*” for the sake of rhyme, and the reading of **F** (“*swete small*”) resulted. “*Seme*” (**G**<sub>5</sub> **G**<sub>1</sub>) may be the adverb (cf. *Pearl*, 190); but any scribe seeing the phrase “*seme small*” would take “*seme*” for a verb with “*small*” as its complementary adjective. **C** (II, 140/1424), represents a further change: “*was ferly smalle*.”

1426—II, p. 140. **C.** *primed*.—In the sixteenth century “*prime*” means “to load,” to “charge”; in the seventeenth, “to prepare a surface for painting.” One occurrence of the noun “*priming*” in the fifteenth century seems to show that the second meaning was in early use: “1427–8 *Records of St. Mary at Hill*, 67: Also for primyng of þe haly water stop, viij<sup>d</sup>.” (N. E. D., s. v., *priming vbl. sb. 1*). In the *Northern Passion*, the text is probably corrupted from “*pinned*.”

140/1\*–145/299\*. Cf. *Introd.*, pp. 70–1 and 67, note 4. The Latin *Legend* is also printed in Herrig’s *Archiv LXXIX*, 465–9.

141/13\*. *swythen*,—burned, scorched. Cf. *Patience* (E. E. T. S., 1, p. 102), v. 478: “*þe warm wynde of þe weste wertes he swyþeȝ*.” The meaning “burn” is well authenticated; cf. e.g., *Ancren Riwle* (ed. Camden Soc., 1853, p. 306), MS. T.: “*forswiðande*,” which in the fourteenth century version, *The Recluse* (ed. J. Pahlsson, Lund, 1911, p. 143/2) is rendered “*brennande*.” In *Catholicon Anglicum* (E. E. T. S., 75, p. 375) “*to swythe (to swythe gryss A) vstillare*,” is this word, and has no connection with “*swaþe*,” track, row of mown grass.

142/65\*. Emend by omitting "Moyses."

143/93\*, 144\*. Mount abor. —"Mount Tabor" was probably written "Mounttabor," then "Mountabor," and "Mount Abor."

144/181\*. Miserere mei deus.—Psalm li. The note prefixed to this Psalm in the Vulgate is: "In finem, psalmus David, Cum venit ad eum Nathan propheta, quando intrauit ad Bethsabee."

144/196\* ff. Cf. vv. 1321 ff.

145/282\*-3\*. It was, of course, a mark of reverence to take off one's shoes on holy ground; in the case of the Sibyl, however, several peculiar traditions survive; cf. the quotation from the *Koran*, in Paul und Braune, *Beiträge*, IV, 93; Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1913), IV, 145; Honorius Augustodunensis, *De Imagine Mundi*, quoted in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XXVII, 23.

p. 145. Line of Latin following v. 285\*. Cf. *Legend* (*Archiv LXXIX*, 469/22). These words are the opening verse of a poem on the Last Judgment, which is an acrostic on the name of Jesus. The poem is quoted by Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, ch. xxiii, (Migne, 41, col. 579). An uncertainty as to the time at which the Sibyl lived is denoted by Augustine's remark (Migne, 41, col. 581): "Nonnulli sane Erythraeum Sibyllam, non Romuli, sed belli Trojani tempore fuisse scripserunt." For a full discussion of the Sibyl, cf. Hertz, "Die Rätsel der Königin von Saba," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XXVII, 1-33; and Köhler, "Zur Legende von der Königin von Saba oder der Sibylla und dem Kreuzholze," *Germania*, XXIX, 53-8.

146/1\* ff. **Ad.** Cf. *Introd.*, pp. 71-2.

146/26\*-27\*. **Ad.** Cf. *Genesis* iii. 21.

147/67\*. **Ad.** Cf. *Introd.*, p. 71. (1). Cf. also Jean d'Outremeuse, *Ly Myreur des Histors* (ed. A. Borgnet in *Commission Royale d'Histoire* of Brussels, 1864-80), I, 314: "Cavm ochist son frere Abel d I ohale d'one cheval, et se l'ochist portant qu'ilh faisoient sacrifice ensemble de la deyme des fruis . . ."

146/1\* ff. **H.** Cf. *Introd.*, p. 79-80. The *Vita Ade et Eveæ* is also printed in Herrig's *Archiv LXXIX*, 459-65.

146/13\*. **H.** es þe on hand, is afflicting thee. Cf. *Moral Ode* (E. E. T. S., 34, p. 171), v. 192: "þet ure eldere misduden; we habbeð ueele on honde;" Gower, *Conf. Am.*, II, 12 (E. E. T. S., XXXI, p. 311.), v. 326: "For ever he hath drede upon honde."

148/77\*-8\*. Cf. *Cursor Mundi*, vv. 917-18 and *Castle of Love* (E. E. T. S., 98, p. 360), vv. 195-6.

149/139\*-42\*. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 80.

149 169\*. murnig.—Scribal error for "murning." **P** (II, p. 165) reads correctly "mornynge." Cf. also **H** 179/38\*, **H** 1880j and **H** 2020b.

150/180\*. According to Daniel x. 21 and xii. 1, Michael was the special guardian of Israel.

150/201\*. right,—rise. The verb with this sense is usually reflexive; cf. *Ancren Riwle* (Camden Soc., 1853), p. 18; *Cursor Mundi*, v. 11694.

151/104\*. southe.—Probably a scribal error for "sethe." Cf. Latin *Legend* (*Archiv LXXIX*, 467/2-3): "t viso illo stupefactus redijt."

151,109\*. Seth's entrance into the garden was contrary to the angel's previous instructions (*Archiv LXXIX*, 466/33-4): "intromisso solummodo capite." The Latin of this passage reads (467/3-4): "Ipse vero ad hostium tertio regressus vidit . . ."

151/111\*-14\*. **Ad**, (151/259\*-263\* **H**). Cf. Slavonic *Enoch* (ed. Charles, VIII, 3): "And in the midst (there is) the tree of life, in that place, on which God rests, when he comes into Paradise."

151/115\*-16\*. Apparently the tree pointed to the pole of the heavenly spheres.

151/117\*-21\*. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 71 (2).

152/141\*-2\*. **Ad**, (152/293\*-4\* **H**). Cf. *Cursor Mundi*, vv. 1373-4:—

Bot þou sal tak þis pepins thre  
þat. I. toke o þat appell tre.

152/157\*-8\*. **Ad.** Cf. *Cursor Mundi* (Fairfax), vv. 1397-8 :—

Of þi dede he bad me say.  
þat þou sulde deye þis prid day.

152/285\*-6\*. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 4, note 2.

153/175\*-6\*. **Ad,** (155/395\*-6\* **H.**) Cf. *Cursor Mundi*, vv. 1421-2 :—

Ful many yeir ilike grene,  
Halines was o þam sene.

153/183\* ff. Cf. **H** 1826c ff., and 1 Corinthians xv. 21.

154/201\*-16\*. Cf. Exodus i-iv.

154/204\*-7\*. *Maymys* and *Iocobelle*. Cf. Exodus vi. 20.

154/213\*. *sauage*.—Scribal error for “saruage.” “In seruage” usually means “in bondage,” “in servitude.” Cf. *Knight de la Tour* (E. E. T. S., 33), 111/8-9: “Thei were in seruage as prisoners in Egipte”; *Cursor Mundi*, v. 4193; Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, E. 482. Why the Israelites were “in gude saruage” is not clear. The Latin *Legend* reads (*Archiv LXXIX*, 467/32-3): “Cumque Moyses propheta populum israeliticum ex egypto t seruitute Pharaonis trans mare rubrum educeret.”

154/220\*. *hafe*.—Scribal error for “hase.”

155 233\*-8. These lines are based on Exodus xv. The *Cantemus Domino* does not occur in the book of Psalms, but it was contained in the *Psalterium* used by the Mediæval Church; cf. Gasquet and Bishop, *The Bosworth Psalter*, London, 1908, p. 11; and *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s. v., *Psalterium*.

156/264\*-5\*. Cf. Genesis xii. 7.

156/293\*. *Aarone*.—Cf. Numbers xx. 8.

156/294\*. For legends of Moses’ rod, cf. L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia, 1911), III, p. 19, etc.; and cf. *Reason and Sensuality* (E. E. T. S., LXXXIX), p. 104.

156/429\*-30\*, 447-448\*. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 80.

157/309\*. *Now*.—Scribal error for “noght.”

157 314\*-16\*. This is God’s answer to Moses’ question: “Now lorde who saHt the lande see” (313\*). The *Legend* reads (*Archiv LXXIX*, 467/51-2): “Nullus eorum ingredietur in terram promissionis preter Caleph t Josue.” Cf. Numbers xiv. 30.

158 354\*. *fulfillide*,—filled. Perhaps “forthle” in the preceding line belongs with “fulfillide”; see *Lord Treasurer’s Account Scotl.* (1877), I, 30: “Item ij quarteris of blak to fulfill furth the lyning of the Queynis goone,” (N. E. D., s. v., fulfil 3).

158/491\*-2\* and 511\*-12\*. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 80.

158 518\*. Cf. *Northern Homily Collection* in Harl. 4196, ff. 52b, 65b: “To ierusalem þe riche cite”; ff. 57b, 87b: “Of ierusalem þat riche cete.”

159/386\*. *on beme*.—“All the folk beam (or shine) with bliss.” The simple verb “beme” is used in *Life of St. Katharine* (1884), 46: “For aungels come from heuene and eounforted hir, beeming þat place of derkenesse wyth vnspekable cleernessee,” (N. E. D., s. v., beam, vb. I, 1).

159/545\*-6\*. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 80.

159/554\*. **H** *thre*.—Read “tre” with **P** (II, p. 166).

160/418\*-25\*. Cf. 2 Kings xi-xii.

160/428\*. Cf. note on 144/181\*.

160/431\*. *tempill deyonye*, 162/473\*, “deyonye” 163/510\*; and “temple deynonye” 161/457\*. In vv. 431\* and 457\* the corresponding Latin of the *Legend* is (Meyer, p. 144): “templum domini” (variant reading of Queen’s Coll. MS., *Archiv LXXIX*, 468/35, 42: “t. dei”); in 510\* Meyer (p. 145), reads “domum dei”; and the Queen’s Coll. MS. (469/1), “domum”; 473\* has no Latin corresponding to it. “Deynonye” is probably the scribe’s blunder for “domini”; the corruption beginning, as Mr. W. A. Craigie informs me, by reading *dom* as *dein*, *delyn*. Other suggestions are (1) a

corruption of "de Adoney" (cf. N. E. D. *Adonai*; *Tourney Plays*, XXVI, 45; and Engl. tr. of De Guilleville's *Pilgrimage*, E. E. T. S., Extra Series, vv. 15973, 16118). (2) Mr. Henry Bergen suggests "de novi." (3) Mr. I. Gollancz thinks it may have arisen from "Sioni" (djeyonye, deyonye?).

160/570\*. Cf. note on 144/181\*.

161/469\*. *vndir þe lynde*.—A common phrase; cf. *Guy of Warwick* (E. E. T. S., XLII, Auch. MS.), v. 1205; *Sir Tristrem* (Scot. Text Soc., VIII), v. 513.

162/478\*. *Lynde*.—Apparently a scribal error for "lynne"; but note that it rhymes with "fynde"!

162/650\*. "Since they were well known to be so skilful." A similar use of "kid" is found in *William of Palerne* (E. E. T. S., I), v. 110: "Komen was he of kun þat kud was ful nobul."

164/542\*-3\*. Cf. *Cursor Mundi*, vv. 8903-4:—

And þan bigan seo for to cri,  
Als wit a voce o propheci.

164/572\*. *thase tithes*.—Probably an error for "as tithes." Robert Thornton, a Yorkshireman, would write "als," but since he was copying from a Midland MS. (cf. *Introd.*, p. 28) he may have misread "as" into "thase."

164/710\*. Cf. note on 816.

165/596\*-607\*. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 71 (4).

165/609\*. *Probatica Pissina*.—Cf. John v. 2. The name "Probatica" (< $\pi\varphi\delta\beta\alpha\tau\omega$ , sheep) is supposed to have been given the pool from its proximity to the sheep-gate (cf. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s. v., *Bethsaida* II). The Latin Legend (*Archiv LXXIX*, 469/10, 11), followed by Ad (164/571\* ff.) identifies it with the pool where the temple offerings were washed.

165/741\*-2\*. **H**, (166/616\*-17\* **Ad**). Cf. *Cursor Mundi*, vv. 8945-6:—

þai drou it þen and mad a brig  
Ouer a litel burn to lig.

166/614\*. Cf. *Introd.*, pp. 71-2.

166/618\*-19\*. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 72 (6).

166/644\*. *bame*.—Probably a scribal error for "þane."

167/650\*-1\*. Cf. *Cursor Mundi*, vv. 8957-8:—

And for to here of his wisdom.  
Quen þat sco to þe cite com.

167/655\*. Cf. *Gamelyn* (Chaucer Soc., Ser. I, 73, Appendix to group **A**, Harl. MS.), v. 338: "When his gestes took her leue . . . [they] bitaughte Gamelyn god and good day."

1439 ff. Cf. *Introd.*, pp. 64-5 and Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion en France*, pp. 43\*, 57\*, 144, 230, and Moses' leprous hand (Exodus iv. 6-7). The Legend occurs in the *Passion d'Autun* (Roy, p. 43\*); in the *Passion de Ste. Geneviève* (Jubinal, *Mystères Inédits*, II, pp. 231-4); in the *Passion d'Eustache Mercadé* (ed. J. M. Richards, 1891, pp. 180 ff.); in the *Passion d'Arnould Greban* (ed. Paris and Raynaud, Paris, 1878, pp. 311-12); in the *Cornish Passion* (Norris, *The Ancient Cornish Drama*, Oxford, 1859, I, pp. 433-9). Cf. Petit de Julleville, *Histoire du Théâtre en France*, Paris, 1880, II, 392: "L'ystoire d'Ysaude forgeant les cloux Dieu fut représentée par personnages muets en 1546 à Béthune (*Documents historiques inédits*, par Champollion-Figeac, t. IV, p. 333)."

1455. **Ad. hete**.—Scribal error for "herte."

1462. **G<sub>1</sub>**, *hordid*,—for "hortid," hurt. Cf. note on 677.

1520a-1520j. **Ad**. Cf. *Introd.*, pp. 72-3, and C 1598a-1598j (II, p. 142).

177/1\*-179/40\*. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 78.

**H.** Latin following v. 1530. Luke xxiii. 28 "... flere" (v. r. "plorare," "plangere"). None of the texts cited by Wordsworth (*Nouum Testamentum*, Oxford, 1893, I<sup>3</sup>), p. 471, gives "timere."

1545. **F.** sande.—Probably scribal error for "fande."

1548d–1548e. **H.** Cf. Luke xxiii. 29.

1550. Vv. 1304–5 (II, p. 121) of the O. Fr. *Passion* are omitted. See Pseudo-Anselm, *Dialogus de Passione* (Migne, 159, col. 281): "Sequebantur autem pueri," etc. 180/1\*–181/54\*. Cf. *Introd.*, pp. 73–4.

1558d–1559. **H.** Cf. Pseudo-Anselm, *Dialogus de Passione* (Migne, 159, col. 281): "Quod fecerunt non causa miseracionis, sed quia præ debilitate id facere non poterat."

1586a–1586b. **Ad.** Cf. 1645–6. Vv. 1657–84 follow 1588 in this MS.

1593. syn.—Cf. *Introd.*, p. 40, note 1.

1594b. **H.** Cf. John xix. 24.

1598b,—II, p. 142. **C.** qwicked : ferlike. Better "qwide : ferlike" as in **Ad** 1520a–1520b.

1599 ff. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 66.

1612. **F.** disturbulinge; **C** (II, p. 143), destorbinge.—In the 1388 version of Wyclif's *Psalm* xxx. 21, "disturbyng" is substituted for "disturbyng" of the 1382 version, as a translation of the Vulgate "conturbatione," (N. E. D. s. v. disturbing).

1627. This line in **G**<sub>5</sub> is corrupt. Cf. "out wring," 1880.

1637–40. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 67.

1646a–1646j. **H.** Cf. French *Passion* of Egerton MS. 2781, fol. 156: "leuerent la croiz t a si grant force ferurent le pee de la croice en la mortays qe la croiz braundist come vne espeie t feust la peine tant fort t hidous qe les veys de soun tendre corps rumprent . . ."; and William of Nassington's poem (E. E. T. S., 26, p. 66), vv. 239–46.

1646k–1646m. **H.** Cf. other texts, vv. 1691–2.

1648. **H.** Vath.—Matthew xxvii. 39. Cf. text W in Wordsworth, *Novum Testamentum*, (Oxford, 1889), I, p. 165; the Wycliffite translations (ed. Forshall and Madden, IV, p. 81); Du Cange, *Glossarium* (1846), VI, p. 747. Probably the *York Plays*, XXXV, 273 should read "Vath" (see note), not "Vah."

1654. Saynt Iohne gives the wording of the title (John xix. 19). For the other details, cf. *Introd.*, p. 68–9.

1682. **G**<sub>1</sub>. acht.—Probably a scribal error for "ach t," i.e., but and, but if. Cf. Lambeth, *Homilies* (E. E. T. S., 34, p. 145): "Alle we beoð in monifald wawe ine þisse wreche liue . . . ach god almihtin us freureð . . ."

1690. **G**<sub>5</sub>. stubbyng,—"to-do," "disturbance." (1) A figurative use of the verbal noun from "stub" to dig up by the roots; cf. *English Dialect Dictionary*, V, 830; and *Catholicon Anglicum* (E. E. T. S., 75), p. 369, note 4. (2) Or perhaps an error for "sturbing," disturbance.

1694 ff. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 75. The poem differs from the Vulgate (1) in making the good thief speak first with an earnest prayer, rather than the bad thief with a mocking appeal; and (2) in the speech of the bad thief, which is adapted from Matthew xxvii. 42. "He" in v. 1699 refers to the good thief; the original copy probably made no mention of "god" (**G**<sub>5</sub>) or "Ihesu" (**A**) in v. 1699.

1719–30. **H.** On p. 207. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 76, note 2.

1727–8. **H.** On p. 207. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 62, and William of Nassington's Poem (E. E. T. S., 26, p. 67), vv. 257–8.

1735. **G**<sub>5</sub>. þa.—Scribal error for "þam."

1742. Behald þi son apon rude tre.—A possible, but not usual, translation of "Ecce filius tuus" (John xix. 26). The O. Fr. *Passion* (II, p. 122), vv. 1381–2, gives no authority for this interpretation. In **D**, **F**, **Ad** and **C** (II, p. 144) attempts have been made to bring the line into harmony with the received interpretation.

1747–8. Cf. *The Charter of Christ*, ed. M. C. Spalding, Long Charter (B-Text), vv. 267–8:—

And namely my modir swete  
that for me blody terys gan lete.

1749. **G<sub>1</sub>**. *bebed*.—Scribal error for “bebled.”

1754. Cf. Peter Comestor, *Hist. Schol.* (Migne, 198, col. 1631), ch. CLXXIV: “Quod virgo virginis commissa est”; *Northern Homily Collection* of Harl. 4196 (*Altengl. Leg.*, n. F., p. 35), vv. 23–6. Legend relates that at the Marriage of Cana in Galilee, John was the bridegroom and Mary Magdalen the bride; but John forsook his bride and followed Jesus. Cf. *Hist. Schol.* (op. cit. col. 1559); *Cursor Mundi*, vv. 13424 ff.; *Northern Homily Collection* of Harl. 4196 (Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, n. F., p. 81), vv. 11–16; and Harl. 4196:—

(fol. 33b) To þat bridall was Ihesu cald  
ffor his cosin þe fest suld hald  
John þe sun of ȝebedu  
He was deciple vnto ihesu  
Wife þat day forsooth he wed  
Als it es in storis red . . .

(fol. 34a) And þe bridegome of þe hows  
Left þe bridall and his spos  
He left his wife als men wele wist  
And furth he went with ihesu crist  
He saw him bore so ful of grace  
Al he for-soke and foloud his trace.

1755 ff. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 66–7; and poem in Harl. 7322, fol. 154 (E. E. T. S., 15, p. 261).

1770. **G<sub>1</sub>**. (**F**, **C** (II, p. 145). *He wex blaker þan any cole*,—i. e., Jesus. Cf. þe *Lamentacioun* þat was bytwene vre lady and seynt Bernard (E. E. T. S., 98, p. 311), Dd. I. 1, v. 317: “þan wex he boþe ȝelow t grene.”

1774. *wall* is probably corrupted from “wayll,” veil. Cf. *Charter of Christ* (E. E. T. S., 117, p. 653), Roy. MS., v. 508: “wayle.” *W* for *v* occurs in **G<sub>5</sub>**: “weray” 1453, “ewyrmore,” 144/166\*; in **G<sub>1</sub>**: “wangeliste” 287e; and *Introd.*, p. 30. Cf. also the Latin poem of B. M. Additional MS., 29434, fol. 111b:—

Velum templum scissum est interiora  
Per se tabernacula patent in hac hora  
Templi quoque scinditur super liminare  
Atque tunc pacificorum rumpitur altare.

1782a–1782aa—II, p. 145–6 **C**. Cf. Peter Comestor, *Hist. Schol.* (Migne, 198, col. 1631), ch. CLXXV.

1791–2. Cf. þe *Lamentacioun*, etc. (E. E. T. S., 98, p. 321), D, vv. 563–4:—

‘ffader, God, In trenyte,  
Whi forsakist þou me whi?’

1800–1804d. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 83.

1804e–1804j, 1637–40 **H**. Cf. other texts, vv. 1637–40, on p. 193.

1808a–1808i. **H**. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 76, note 3; and other texts, vv. 1829–36.

1808a–1808l—II, p. 146 **C**. Cf. Peter Comestor, *Hist. Schol.* (Migne, 198, col. 1630), ch. CLXXII.

1809 ff. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 61.

1819–20. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 77, note 4.

1821–1824b. **H.** Adam, Eve, John the Baptist, Moses, and Abraham. These are prominent figures in other accounts of the Harrowing of Hell; cf. *The Harrowing of Hell* (E. E. T. S., C.), pp. 15–21; *York Plays*, XXXVII, vv. 37 ff. (= *Towneley*, XXV, vv. 25 ff.); *Hegge Plays* (ed. Halliwell, Shakespeare Society, 1841), p. 344.

1826c ff. **H.** Cf. note on 153/183\*.

1827. **I.** *deuely*.—Scribal error for “deuelys.”

1831–4. Cf. **H.** 1808a ff.

1837–40. The belief that the centurion was converted and later suffered martyrdom, was current in the time of Chrysostom (see R. J. Peebles, “The Legend of Longinus,” *Bryn Mawr Monographs*, IX, p. 10). Possibly we have here a confusion with the story of Joseph of Arimathea (see below, vv. 1917 ff. in **H.**).

1840a–1840d. **H.** Cf. *Cursor Mundi*, 16675–80, and *þe Lamentacioun*, etc. (E. E. T. S., 98, p. 311), vv. 329–30.

1840q–1840r. **H.** Cf. vv. 1896m–1896p, and *Introd.*, p. 79.

1846d. **H.** At this point the parallels with the Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus* begin. Cf. *Introd.*, pp. 77–8.

1852c–1852h. **H.** Cf. John xix. 31.

1864c–1864d. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 79.

1869–88. Cf. *Introd.*, pp. 7, 60–61, 96.

1880c–1880f. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 79.

1894. **G.** *þeder vandre*. These words should be transposed.

1896m–1896p. **H.** Cf. *Introd.*, p. 79, and vv. 1840q–1840r.

1905–6. Cf. the story of Sidonie, *Introd.*, p. 74, notes 3 and 4.

1912a–1912b. **H.** Cf. *Introd.*, p. 4, note 2.

1920a–1920p. **H.** Cf. *Introd.*, pp. 77–8.

1925–6. The second and larger group of parallels with the Resurrection poem in Ashmole MS. 61 begins here; cf. *Introd.*, p. 95, note 2.

1978a–1978b. **A.** Cf. **H.** 243/25\*–30\*.

1978c–1978d. **A.** An ancient tradition in the Roman Church. Cf. e.g., Ambrose, *De Virginitate*, III, 14 (Migne, 16, col. 270); *Legenda Aurea* (ed. Nuremberg, 1488, fol. Ixxii); *Hegge Plays* (ed. Halliwell, Shakespeare Society, 1841), pp. 346–8; *The Virgin's Complaint and Comfort* (E. E. T. S., 15, 1903, p. 241), vv. 109–10.

1999–2000. Cf. *Northern Homily Collection* of Harl. 4196 (fol. 125b) :—

When cristes desciples þir wordes herd  
with mekill ferly all þai ferd.

2021–48. Cf. *Introd.*, p. 83.

2049—II, p. 148. **C.** *fourse*.—Scribal error for “fourþe.”

2090. *Names seyn*.—Cf. Saint Bernard, *Sermones in Cantica*, XV, (Migne, 183, col. 843 ff.); *Qualiter nomen Jesus est medicina salubris fidelibus Christianis in omnibus adversis*.

2090a–2090b, **Ad**; 249/11\*–20\*, **H**; 2080m–2080r, **R** (II, p. 157). Cf. Rock, *The Church of our Fathers* (1903), III, 57, note 70; *De Festo Corporis Christi* (E. E. T. S., 98), p. 197; *Lay Folk's Catechism* (E. E. T. S., 118), pp. 96–8; William of Shoreham, *De Septem Mortalibus Peccatis* (E. E. T. S., LXXXVI), p. 114; *The Stacyons of Rome* (E. E. T. S., 15, 1903), pp. 143–73.

#### NOTES ON VV. 1\*–196\* OF RAWL. C. 655 (SEE II, PP. 126–8).

11\*—II, p. 126. *þrittyne wynter t þridde halve zere*.—i.e., thirty-two and a half years. Cf. *O.E. Chronicle* (Rolls Series, I, p. 383), anno 1137: “xx wintre t half gær”; *Harrowing of Hell* (E. E. T. S., C, p. 5), vv. 45–6 :—

*þritty wynter and þridde half yer  
Hauy woned in londe her.*

15\*-34\*—II, p. 126. Cf. Matthew iii. 13-17; Mark i. 9-11; Luke iii. 21-22.

29\*—II, p. 126, *Seint lucas in doue licesse*, clearly belongs with line 28\*; “ Seint Lucas ” is parallel in construction to “ Seint Marke ” (30\*).

35\*-38\*—II, pp. 126-7. Cf. Matthew iv. 1-11.

84\*—II, p. 127. *oure*.—Either a personal pronoun modifying “ lord ” (v. 83\*), or an error for “ honoure.”

99\*-104\*—II, p. 127.—1 Peter v. 8.

111\*-174\*—II, pp. 127-28.—Matthew iv. 12-13, 17-25; v. 12.

## GLOSSARY

[In this Glossary no attempt has been made to cite all the occurrences of words, nor of their variants in spelling. For the sake of convenience, the spelling of MS. G<sub>5</sub> (printed in the third column of the parallel texts of Volume I) is used, and all line-references not preceded by a MS. reference (H I Ad, etc.) apply to this MS. (e.g., in "amang, omang," col. 2 below, "amang" is the reading of G<sub>5</sub> in v. 25, and "omang" is the reading of another MS., Ad, in the same line). A reference consisting of two numbers (e.g., 142/16\*, or H 207/1725) is to page and line; one preceded by a II, is to a text printed in Volume II (e.g., II. 137/1041 means Vol. II., p. 137, v. 1041)].

### A

- a, *interj.* ah ! 1105.
- a, *pron.* he, 1899, G<sub>1</sub> 2016.
- a, *see* scho, þai.
- abauede, *vb.* pa. pple. confounded, 156/272\*.
- a-bayschyd, *vb.* pa. pple. abashed, A 254.
- abide, *vb.* wait, wait for, 51; abad, *pa. pl.* H 607.
- a-bouen, *adv. and prep.* above, D 1657; obouen, H 76, 150/239\*; abone, G<sub>1</sub> 662; abowne, Ad 1502, 151/111\*.
- a-bowte, *prep. and adv.* about, 514; obout, H 20/21\*, H 514, H 1450; abote, II. 128/145\*; abought, II. 150/14.
- abye, *vb.* atone for, Ad 1706; abouth, pa. pple. G<sub>1</sub> 4.
- acht, G<sub>1</sub> 1682, *see note.*
- acouped, *vb.* pa. sing. accused, II. 135/747. *See also* cupid.
- adon, *adv.* down, II. 127/59\*, II. 130/106. *See also* don.
- adred, *adj.* afraid, 377; adrad, G<sub>1</sub> 533. *See also* drade.
- aferde, *adj.* afraid, I 1813.
- a-gayne, *adv.* again, 487; azen, D 585; ogayne, H 169, H 464.
- agayns, ageyn, ogains, *prep.* against, 140, 788, H 913; opposite to, 64, 210; a-geynste, I 960.
- aight, *adj.* eight, 150/190\*.
- aight, *see* owe.
- a-gryfe, *vb.* agrieve, I 1926; a-grewyde, pa. pple. I 465; a-greuyd, I 992. *See also* greuyd.
- ahye, *adv.* on high, II. 139/1342; aheiȝ, II. 146/1808b.

albidene, *see* bidene.

alde, *adj.* old, Ad 146/49\*; hald, 11.

alkyn, all kinds of, 1158, 143/130\*; alkins, H 1164 b.

allane, *adj.* alone, Ad 478.

alle, *see* hall.

allgate, *see* gate.

almous, *sb.* alms, Ad 136.

almous-dede, *sb.* deed of charity, 136.

als, *conj.* as, 9, 73, 172.

alswa, *adv. and conj.* also, as, H 749; as, while, Ad 9, Ad 307, Ad 729; alswa þat, *conj.* while, Ad 1786.

alther, *adj.* of all, 274; allir, G<sub>1</sub> 287 f; aller, 361.

awlewand, *adj.* all-ruling, 152/309\*.

alyche, *adv.* alike, I 101; alyke, I 1330; elyke, 153/175\*; ilyke, 157/480\*; ylike, 153/174\*.

amaid, *adj.* amazed, H 1166 a.

amang, omang, *prep.* among, 25; omanges, Ad 26; omanges, H 641.

amange, *adv.* along, 158/361\*.

amend, *vb.* amend, increase, H 974.

ameruailed, *adj.* stricken with wonder, H 922 h.

amyse, *adv.* amiss, I 730.

ancleus, *sb. pl.* ankles, II. 143/1629.

ane, *adj.* an, a, H 459; o, D 642; one, alone, 478.

anes, *adv.* once, H 1034 d.

anger, *sb.* affliction, H 319; angers, *pl.* sorrows,pains, H 442 b, H 456, 148/100\*.

angerd, *adj.* afflicted, H 458 b, H 656.

angwys, angwyssche, *sb.* anguish, 456.

anly, *adv.* only, H 451.

anodur, *adj.* another, F 506, F 1437.

anon, *see onone*.  
 an-ouen, *adv.* above, G<sub>1</sub> 1426.  
 answire, *sb.* answer, 142/48\*.  
 a-partye, *adv.* in part, I 906.  
 apertly, *adv.* openly, 906.  
 apon, *prep.* upon, 244, 334, 390; *opon*, H 461.  
 are, *adj.* former, 114.  
 are, *adv.* before, formerly, 20/30\*, 21/38\*, Ad 476; *ore*, 165/587\*; *ere*, *prep.* II. 174/386.  
 are, *sb.* grace, mercy, 1144.  
 aredy, *adj.* ready, II. 172/315. *See also redy*.  
 arende, *sb.* errand, I 488; *herand*, 488; *herend*, G<sub>1</sub> 1556.  
 artou, *see* be.  
 assay, *vb.* essay, try, H 1054 e; *asaiede*, *pa. pple.*, II. 135/761.  
 asent, *sb.* opinion, intention, H 1156. (*See Piers Plowman*, B IV. 187, Gower, *Conf. Am.*, I. 2623.)  
 asket, G<sub>1</sub> 854, *see note*.  
 aslake, *vb.* diminish, grow weak, G<sub>1</sub> 1834.  
 asoigne, *asonye*, *sb.* excuse; *kast a-soigne*, make excuse, 918.  
 ass, *vb.* ask, H 1060 a.  
 assample, *see ensampyll*.  
 asse, *sb.* ass, 69, 75; *a nasse*, an ass, 67.  
 assise, *sb.* required standard, measure, 162/643\*.  
 astate, *sb.* estate, dignity, H 1274 c.  
 astond, *vb. pa. sing.* stunned, T 532 c.  
 aswiþe, *adv.* as quickly as possible, immediately, II. 131/267.  
 at, *conj.* that, 53, 504, 143/127\*.  
 at, *prep.* to, H 56, H 318.  
 at, *pron.* which, who, 64, 250, 143/139\*.  
 athes, othes, *sb. pl.* oaths, 550.  
 ato, *adv.* in twain, II. 145/1774.  
 aue, *sb.* ave, a prayer to the Virgin Mary, II. 157/2080 j; *aues*, *pl.* 248/9\*.  
 aues, *see hafe*.  
 aungell, *sb.* angel, 459.  
 austin-is, *sb.* Augustinian monk's, G<sub>1</sub> 99.  
 auter, *sb.* altar, II. 145/1782 v; *autres*, *pl.* II. 145/1782 o.  
 a-vyce, *sb.* advice, Ad 1835.  
 avysed, *vb. pa. pple.* warned, A 944.  
 aw, *sb.* fear, H 706; awe, power, Ad 636, D 1473.  
 aw, au, *see owe*.  
 awen, *adj.* own, 146, 435; *awne*, 189; *mi-nowen*, mine own, G<sub>1</sub> 1234.  
 a-wonderd, *adj.* astonished, 154/365\*.  
 awow, *vb.* maintain, H 642.

ay, *adv.* ever, 40.  
 ayere, *sb.* heir, 161/453\*.  
 ayles, *vb. pres. sing.* ails, 777.  
 ayther, *adj.* either, 1438; *aydur*, F 1418; *ær*, 166/793\*; *eydur*, F 1617.  
 ayware, *adv.* everywhere, H 936 c.  
 ayzell, *sb.* vinegar, 1722.

## B

bald, baulde, *adj.* bold, 245. *See also vnbald*.  
 bale, *sb.* evil, distress, H 254, H 370, 394.  
 balk, *sb.* beam, 161/617\*  
 baly, *sb.* control, jurisdiction, 310, 312.  
 ban, *vb.* curse, H 2031.  
 bandys, *sb. pl.* bonds, 590.  
 bane, *sb.* murderer, H 214.  
 bane, *sb.* bone, 142/25\*.  
 baptist, *vb. pa. pple.* baptized, 150/206\*; *babstisud*, II. 126/18\*.  
 barayne, *adj.* barren, H 1548 d.  
 barn, *sb.* child, 152/289\*.  
 barnage, *sb.* baronage, G<sub>1</sub> 1843.  
 bath, *conj.* both, H 647.  
 bawndoun, *sb.* control, 884.  
 be, *vb. be*, 2/12\*; *ben*, I 232, D 628; *am*, *pres. 1 sing.* 385; *bese*, 387; *ert*, *arte*, *pres. 2 sing.* 323; *bese*, 1181; *es*, H 1230; *ertow*, art thou, H 668 h; *artou*, G<sub>1</sub> 1224; *nart*, art not, G<sub>1</sub> 1181; *es*, *pres. 3 sing.* 44; *is*, *hys*, 508; *isse*, 270; *his*, G<sub>1</sub> 160; *nis*, is not, G<sub>1</sub> 601; *er*, *ben*, *are*, *pres. 3 pl.* 234; *aren*, G<sub>1</sub> 578; *beþ*, II. 133/578; *is*, 500; *be*, *subj. pres. sing.* 249; *beo*, II. 173/348, II. 173/352; *be*, *subj. pres. pl.* 34; *bese*, *be*, *impera. pl.* 441; *was*, *were*, *ver*, *pa. 2 sing.* 845; *was*, *pa. 3 sing.* 29; *whas*, 1129; *wa*, G<sub>1</sub> 1336; *nas*, was not, G<sub>1</sub> 894; *war*, *ware*, *were*, *pa. pl.* 845; *wern*, I 798 a; *war*, *were*, *subj. pa. sing.* 52; *wer*, *ware*, 364; *wore*, F 592; *bene*, *pa. pple.* 597.

bebed, G<sub>1</sub> 1749, *see note*.  
 bede, *vb.* offer, H 207/1724; show, declare, 157/329\*; *bed*, *pa. sing.* offered, 148/69\*; *bede*, *pa. pl.* offered, A 1727.  
 befall, *vb.* happen, 32; *befallyth*, *pres. sing. imperf.* is fitting, I 339.  
 beforn, *prep. and adv.* before, beforehand, 33, 251.  
 begetyn, *vb. pa. pple.* acquired, 894.  
 be-haldyn, *vb.* behold, 624; *behaulde*, *impera. sing.* 151/107\*.

**be-houys, vb. impers. pres. behoves**, 88, 294; **biouit, pa. G<sub>1</sub>** 581.  
**beleve, sb. belief**, II. 150/2\*.  
**bek, sb. brook**, 165/742\*.  
**belamy, sb. good friend**, **H** 1444. (Cf. French *bel ami*).  
**beleue, vb. pres. pl. believe**, I 790.  
**belise, sb. bellows**, **H** 1495.  
**benome, vb. pa. sing. took away**, 562; **benymme, pa. pple. A** 28.  
**benysoune, sb. blessing**, 249/15\*.  
**be-refe, bifrafust, vb. pa. 2 sing. took away**, D G<sub>1</sub> 720.  
**beri, vb. bury**, 154/371\*; **berid, pa. pl. 142/56\***; **byrid, pa. pple. 143/95\***; **beried, 152/147\***.  
**beriing, sb. burying**, 161/604\*; **biriinge, II. 130/144 a.**  
**be-runne, vb. pa. pple. watered, covered**, A 1218; **by-rowne, Ad** 1749.  
**besett, vb. surround, attack**, 514; **be-sette, pa. pple. ill-used**, I 894.  
**best, sb. beast**, 66.  
**bestad, adj. euyll bestad**, badly off, 142/84\*.  
**be-syde, adv. apart, away**, 52.  
**bet, adv. better**, II. 175/436.  
**bete, vb. relieve, cure**, H 118.  
**bete, vb. beat**, H 594.  
**beteche, vb. pres. sing. yield, commend to**, 1805; **betaughte, pa. sing. 167/655\***, see note.  
**betyne, vb. pa. pple. bitten**, 156/278\*, 156/434\*.  
**betwene, bitwene, prep. and adv. among**, along, 354, 51/10\*, D 725; **bithene, II. 173/354**.  
**be-twyx, prep. between**, 712.  
**betyde, vb. betide**, 418; **bitid, pa. pple. befallen**, 162/649\*.  
**beþe, adj. both**, A 1438.  
**be-wreyed, vb. pa. pl. disclosed, showed**, I 636 a.  
**be-wunne, vb. pa. pple. won**, F 894.  
**bidene, adv. straightway, forthwith**, H 3/53\*; **bedene, 101, 353; albidene, H 529.**  
**bigilid, vb. pa. pple. beguiled**, G<sub>1</sub> 894. See note.  
**bilde, vb. dwell**, H 346 b.  
**bi-leue, vb. remain**, G<sub>1</sub> 60; **by-leuyd, beleuyd, pa. pple. left**, I 348, Ad 1637; remained, 1044.  
**bilue, adv. quickly, straightway**, H 1088; **belyfe, 145/243\***; **blyue, II. 129/93.**  
**binde, vb. bind**, 1018; **band, bond, pa. pl. 589; bunden, pa. pple. 67.**

**bir, sb. violence, rush**, H 772 a.  
**birden, sb. burden**, 1567.  
**bisschop, sb. bishop**, H 562 b; **byschoppys, poss. 714.**

**bitoke, vb. pa. pl. entrusted**, H 2052.  
**bla, adj. dark**, H 1635.  
**bledande, vb. pres. pple. bleeding**, D 585.  
**blendys, vb. pres. 2 sing. sheddest**, 782.  
**blenke, vb. look**, 737.  
**blethely, adv. gladly**, Ad 146/10\*.  
**blowe, vb. pa. pl. blew**, 516.  
**blude, sb. blood**, 782.  
**blis, vb. bless**, H 146/7\*; **blissed, pa. sing. 224.**

**blynne, blin, vb. cease, cause to cease**, I H 28; **blane, pa. sing. 160/425\***.  
**blythe, adj. glad**, A 870.  
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**for**, *conj.* because, 2/11\*.  
**forbed**, *vb. pa. sing.* forbod, 148/52\*.  
**for-betyl**, *vb. pa. pple.* beaten, **H** 177/10\*.  
**for-bled**, *vb. pa. pple.* covered with blood,  
**H** 1201, **H** 177/10\*.  
**for-born**, *vb. pa. sing.* lost, gone without,  
 1870.  
**fordo**, *vb.* destroy, 152/283\*; **for-dyd**,  
*pa. pl.* condemned, 49.  
**for-drade**, *adj.* frightened, **Ad** 377; **for-**  
*drede*, **I** 1105.  
**fordynge**, **F** 474, *see note.*  
**fore**, *adv.* before, **A** 894.  
**fore-lefte**, *vb. pa. sing.* forsook, **A** 1768.  
**forfette**, *vb.* transgress, 142/34\*; **forfet**,  
*pa. pple.* forfeited, **H** 1946.  
**forgete**, *vb. subj. 2 sing.* forgot, 347;  
*forgatt*, *pa. sing.* 272.

for-go, *vb.* lose, 344; forgon, **D** 570; for-gane, *pa. pple.* 1870.  
 for-hele, *vb.* hide, **D** Ad 2041.  
 for-lees, *vb. pa. sing.* lost, **I** 1768; for-lorne, *pa. pple.* 34.  
 formast, *adj.* first, 152/288\*.  
 forme, *adj.* first, 140/2\*.  
 forsake, *vb.* forsake, 380; for-sakys, *pres. 2 sing.* refusest, 1577; for-suке, *pa. sing.* forsook, 166.  
 further-mar, *adv.* furthermore, 155/403\*.  
 fort, *prep.* for to, **II.** 148/1991.  
 fort, *conj.* until, **II.** 139/1230, **II.** 147/1920, **II.** 147/1922.  
 for-thynkith, *vb. impers. pres.* regret, **II.** 156/1764 *j*; for-thoght, *pa. sing.* 728.  
 forþi, *adv.* therefore, **H** 668 *f*, **H** 1055; for-þi þat, *conj.* in order that, **H** 737.  
 for-whi, *conj.* because, **H** 826, 159/391\*.  
 for-yieue, *vb.* forgive, **G<sub>1</sub>** 976; forgif, *impera. sing.* give, grant, **H** 148/100\*.  
 fourfe, **II.** 148/2049, *see note.*  
 fourthe, *adj.* forty, 144/186\*.  
 fowles, *sb. pl.* birds, 150/232\*.  
 frame, *sb.* profit, 165/608\*.  
 frayd, *adj.* frightened, 534.  
 frendes, *sb. pl.* friends, 194; freynd, 218.  
 frenschip, *sb.* friendship, **H** 952 *b*.  
 fresse, *adj.* fresh, 164/570\*.  
 fro, *prep.* from, 39; fra, **H** 450.  
 froward, *prep.* away from, 698.  
 fruthe, *sb.* fruit, 142/41\*.  
 fude, *sb.* food, 130; foude, **II.** 130/130.  
 fule, *adj.* foul, **Ad** 147/54\*.  
 full, *adv.* full, 175; fol, **G<sub>1</sub>** 497; used as intensive, 174.  
 fullfyll, *vb.* fulfil, 374; fulfillide, *pa. pple.* filled, 158/354\*.  
 fullyd, *vb. pa. pple.* fulfilled, **I** 238.  
 fure, *sb.* fire, **II.** 134/683.  
 furst, *adv.* first, **II.** 126/38\*.  
 furth, *adv.* forth, 112; fortht, **G<sub>1</sub>** 744.  
 fute, *sb.* foot, 143/97\*; fote hote, hot-foot, swiftly, **F** 943; foute hote, **II.** 128/138\*.  
 fynd, *vb.* find, 65; fend, **G<sub>1</sub>** 577; fonde, *pa. sing.*, **I** 467; fand, *pa. pl.* 73; fundyn, fond, *pa. pple.* 637; fowne, **Ad** 2008; yfonden, **II.** 127/113\*.  
 fyne, *sb.* end, 794.

## G

gabing, *sb.* lying, **H** 709.  
 gadeling, *sb.* rascal, **D** 1576.  
 gainsaise, *vb. pres. sing.* contradicts, opposes, **H** 1182*b*.

gale, **F A** 570, *see note.*  
 game, *sb.* delight, pleasure, **I** 590*a*;  
 gamen, *pl.* **D** 758; gamnes, **Ad** 820.  
 gameinge, *sb.* playing, **II.** 136/983.  
 gan, *vb. pa. sing.* began, 59, 108, 146; can, **F** 30; con, **G<sub>1</sub>** 547; gan, gune, *pa. pl.* 71, 198; gunne, **D** 626.  
 ganynge, *sb.* gaining, 981.  
 gapin, *vb.* gape, **D** 640.  
 garth, *sb.* yard, **T** 161/603\*.  
 gaste, *sb.* spirit, 277; gist, **G**, 769.  
 gate, *sb.* path, way, 425, **H** 612 *c*; allgate, by any means, **H** 1218 *q*; sogat, in this way, 153/327\*; þusgat, in this way, **H** 128, **H** 258, 1180.  
 gedur, *vb.* gather, **F** 132*b*; gedird, *pa. pl.* 17.  
 ger, *vb.* cause to, constrain, compel, **H** 3/29\*; garres, *pres. sing.* **Ad** 1117; gert, *pa. sing.* 3/44\*; gart, **Ad** 1110.  
 gerland, *sb.* crown, 1208.  
 gerrard, *sb.* devil, 148/71\*.  
 gett, *vb.* get, 196; gete, **H** 856*b*; gatte, *pa. sing.* begot, **Ad** 146/34\*; gatt, *pa. pl.* got, 145/242\*.  
 geþ, **II.** 130/183, *see note.*  
 gilties, *adj.* guiltless, **H** 1018 *f*.  
 ginne, *sb.* snare, **II.** 127/91\*.  
 gloues, glayues, glyues, *sb. pl.* spears, 515.  
 glyde, *vb.* go, 626.  
 gysteryng, *vb. pres. pple.* shining, **I** 515.  
 god-with-gane, *adj.* God-forsaken, contrary to God, 149/152\*.  
 gone, *vb.* go, 26; gange, **F** 139 *a*; gane, **H** 704; gase, goth, gose, *pres. sing.* 183; 382; gase, *impera. pl.* 181; gane, *pa. pple.* 52.  
 gound, *vb. pa. pl.* yawned, **G<sub>1</sub>** 678, *see note.*  
 gowarnd, *vb. pa. sing.* governed, 144/193\*.  
 graith, *vb.* prepare, 195; greyt, **F** 178; graithed, *pa. pl.* 201; graythed, *pa. pple.* 203; graide, **H** 420; graid, 154/351\*; buried, 152/299\*.  
 graithly, *adv.* quickly, carefully, well, **H** 154, **H** 612 *c*, **H** 518 *a*.  
 graue, bury, **H** 883; groue, *pa. pl.* 154/364\*; grauen, *pa. pple.* 150/195\*.  
 graued, *vb. pa. pple.* engraved, **II.** 129/86 *n.* See note.  
 grede, *vb.* call, cry out, **Ad** 1545.  
 grefe, *sb.* grief, 1184.  
 grene, *adj.* fresh, unsalted, 164/574\*, **Ad** 1904.  
 grete, *adj.* great, 36; grette, 47; gred, **II.** 141/1546.  
 grete, *vb.* weep, 108; gratis, *pres. sing.* 152/133\*; grett, *pa. sing.* **H** 457.

grette, *vb. pa. sing.* greeted, addressed, II. 127/58\*.  
 greuance, *sb.* grievance, H 976 *a.*  
 greuose, *adj.* grievous, H 1097.  
 greuyd, *vb. pa. pple.* grieved, 465. *See also a-gryfe.*  
 groued, *vb. pa. sing.* grew, 149/154\*.  
 grounde, *sb.* bottom, 1383.  
 gruche, *vb. impera. sing.* grudge, A 1229; groched, *pa. pl.* murmured, 156/443\*.  
 gryse, *adj.* grisly, I 1076; \*greeselye, I 1103.  
 grysse, *sb.* grass, 142/16\*; gres, 149/154\*.  
 gryth, *sb.* peace, 112; grith, F 238 *b.*  
 gude, *adj.* good, 90; goude, II. 128/147\*.  
 gude, *sb.* good, Ad 2; god, goods, G<sub>1</sub> 415.  
 gudely, *adv.* well, 154/351\*.  
 gudenese, *sb.* goodness, 301.  
 gyem, G<sub>1</sub> 524, *see note.*  
 gyfe, *vb.* give, 130; yeue, G<sub>1</sub> 157; gif, *pres. 1 sing.* care, reck, H 1146; gafe, gaffe, *pa. sing.* 218, 152/141\*; gafe, 3ouen, *pa. pl.* 163, D 1727; gyuene, 3ouen, yeuen, *pa. pple.* Ad I G<sub>1</sub> 130; 3oue, D 1255.  
 gyse, *sb.* manner, custom, Ad 146/39\*.

H

ha, *see þai.*  
 haf, *vb. pa. sing.* raised, G<sub>1</sub> 783; houen, *pa. pple.* D 2043.  
 hafe, *vb.* have, 105; han, D 1369; haf, *pres. 1 sing.* 507; hastou, hast thou, H 1228; hauestou, G<sub>1</sub> 1240; hase, hath, *pres. 3 sing.* 3; aues, II. 127/62\*; haf, *pres. pl.* 761; han, D 766; hauedistou, hadst thou, G<sub>1</sub> 1488; nad, had not, G<sub>1</sub> 498; haddyn, haued, *pa. pl.* I Ad 466; naued, had not, G<sub>1</sub> 600.  
 hald, *vb.* hold, 177; huld, *pa. sing.* II. 146/1792 *h*; helden, *pa. pl.* G<sub>1</sub> 1508; haldyne, *pa. pple.* Ad 624; haldys apon, clings to, 1142.  
 hald, *see alde.*  
 halde, *sb.* stronghold, fortress, 166/638\*.  
 hale, *adj.* whole, H 587; hole, 1405.  
 halue, *adj.* half, II. 126/11\*.  
 hall, *adj.* all, 1641.  
 hall, *haulle, sb.* 189, 167/682\*; alle, I 620 *b.*  
 halowe, *vb.* hallow, 165/584\*.  
 halows, *sb. pl.* saints, H 1782 *d.*  
 haly, *adj.* holy, 103.  
 haly gast, *sb.* Holy Ghost, 38.  
 hame, *sb.* home, 142/47\*, 143/141\*.  
 hand, *sb. hand,* H 345; hend, handes, *pl.* 217.  
 hang, *hang, vb.* 1188 *c*; hongid, hynghe, henge, *pa. sing.* 860. *See also hyng.*  
 hardily, *adv.* boldly, H 496.  
 hare, *sb. hair,* 109.  
 hastou, *see hafe.*  
 hate, *adj.* hot, H 1496.  
 he, *see scho, 3he.*  
 heder, hydere, *adv.* hither, 313, Ad 725; hider, 973.  
 hedose, *adj.* hideous, H 1060 *e.*  
 hedyd, heuedid, *vb. pa. pple.* beheaded, 1965.  
 heghe, *adj.* high, 146/45\*; hight, H 1643; hey, II. 127/57\*; highest, hyest, *super. 448.*  
 helded, *vb. pa. pl.* inclined, bent their course (in hostile sense), II. 138/1142 (< O.E. hieldan).  
 hele, *sb.* cure, salvation, 153/184\*, 181/46\*.  
 hele, *sb.* heel, 148/81\*.  
 hele, *vb.* conceal, 2041; helin, D 1548; helyde, *pa. pple.* Ad 754.  
 hely, *adv.* highly, emphatically, H 1682.  
 helyd, *vb. pa. sing.* healed, 586; helden, II. 128/142\*.  
 hem, ham, *see þaime.*  
 hend, *adj.* ready, kind, courteous, 72; heynd, 197, 434, 784; hyndest, *super. F 448.* *See also vñheyng.*  
 hende, *sb. end,* G<sub>1</sub> 372.  
 hene, *adv.* hence, A 1646. *See also hethen.*  
 hent, *vb. pa. pl.* grasped, 627.  
 hentred, *vb. pa. sing.* entered, II. 134/613.  
 herand, herend, *see arende.*  
 herbes, *sb. pl.* plants, 151/248\*.  
 herdes, *sb. pl.* hards, the coarser parts of flax or hemp separated in hackling, 163/681\*.  
 here, her, har, hore, *see þare.*  
 here, *see ere.*  
 here, *vb.* hear, 642; hire, II. 127/100\*;  
 herd, *pa. sing.* 145, 265; herd, harde, *pa. pl.* 77, 161; herd, harde, *pa. pple.* 983; yhurde, II. 126/31\*.  
 herkyne, *vb. impera. pl.* hearken, F G<sub>1</sub> 1.  
 herlot, *sb.* rascal, 1576.  
 hern-pan, *sb.* brain-pan, H 1210 *d.*  
 herthe, *sb.* earth, G<sub>1</sub> 1602.  
 herting, *sb.* encouragement, hope, 242/5\*.  
 herto, *adv.* hereto, H 2/8\*.  
 hest, *sb.* promise, 156/424\*.  
 hete, *sb.* heat, 1212, 1775.

**hete**, *Ad* 1455, *see note*.

**hete**, *vb.* promise, 153/323\*; *pres. 1 sing.* **H** 319; *hight*, *pa. pple.* **H** 546; was called, **H** 563; *highte*, 146/37\*; *heiȝt*, II. 144/1714 *a*, II. 144/1714 *b*.

**heteing**, *sb.* promise, 157/464\*.

**hethen**, *adv.* hence, **F** 422. *See also hene*.

**hething**, *sb.* scorning, contempt, **H** 798 *b*, **H** 1205.

**heȝt**, *sb.* haste, II. 133/533 (< O.E. *higð*).

**heuche**, *see iche*.

**heuchon**, *see ilkone*.

**heuen**, *heuene*, *see euyn*.

**heuy**, *adj.* heavy, **I** 533.

**heuyd**, *hede*, *sb.* head, 347.

**hewe**, *sb.* hew, 1310; *ewe*, *hawe*, 1350.

**hewit**, *vb.* *pa. pl.* hewed, 161/625\*.

**hey**, *adv.* high, **A** 314; *hye*, **F** 610; *heghe*, 657.

**heyndly**, *adv.* readily, graciously, 216.

**hi**, *see þai*.

**hide**, *sb.* skin, **H** 1280 *b*.

**hidosly**, *adv.* hideously, **H** 1099.

**hille**, *sb.* ill, **G<sub>1</sub>** 779.

**hiller**, *elre*, *eldern*, *adj. and sb.* elder, elder tree, **Ad G<sub>1</sub> F** 860.

**hillid**, *vb.* *pa. pple.* concealed, **D** 1200.

**hird**, *herde*, *sb.* shepherd, 382; *hyrd*, 385.

**birdman**, *sb.* herdsman, **H** 382.

**his**, *hys*, *see be*.

**his**, **G<sub>1</sub>** 148, *see note*.

**hit**, *pron. it*, **G<sub>1</sub>** 601; *het*, **G<sub>1</sub>** 690.

**holite**, *sb.* holiness (?), **F** 372, *see note*.

**honde**, *sb.* hound, dog, 383.

**hone**, *sb.* delay, 242/13\*.

**hone**, *vb.* delay, **H** 622 *a*, **H** 1841.

**honked**, *adj.* unknown, II. 142/1554. *See also kid*.

**hopede**, *vb.* *pa. sing.* thought, **Ad** 826.

**horched**, *orche zerde*, *sb.* orchard, 1349.

**hordid**, *vb.* *pa. sing.* hurt, **G<sub>1</sub>** 1462.

**ho-so**, *see who-so*.

**hou**, *adv.* low, II. 127/67\*.

**hou**, *see zowe*.

**hour**, *see ȝhourē*.

**hout**, *adv.* out, **G<sub>1</sub>** 938.

**how hey**, *how heye*, *interj.* hey there!

**F** 546, **F** 658.

**hows**, *sb.* house, **H** 204, **H** 812.

**hyghe**, *sb.* on *hyghe*, openly, 546; on *heght*, **H** 267; on *hight*, **H** 460; on *hyȝe*, **A** 854; in *hy*, 2/25\*, **H** 53/19\*.

**hyng**, *vb.* hang, 892; *hing*, *henge*, 1236, **H** 1840 *f*; *henge*, II. 139/1236. *See also hang*.

## I

**i**, *see also y*.

**ich**, *pron.* **I**, **G<sub>1</sub>** 149, **G<sub>1</sub>** 158.

**iche**, *pron. and adj.* each, **A** 363; *heuche*, **G<sub>1</sub>** 556; *ech*, II. 173/363; *euche*, **G<sub>1</sub>** 14.

**ihe**, *see ȝhe*.

**ihore**, *ihore*, *see ȝhourē*.

**ilk**, *adj. each*, **H** 667, **H** 754 *c*; *ylke*, **I** 14.

**ilkone**, *pron. each one*, 134; *ilkane*, 436; *ylkone*, *echon*, **Ad I** 496; *euchon*, **G<sub>1</sub>** 484; *heuchon*, **G<sub>1</sub>** 10.

**ilyke**, *see alyche*.

**in**, *prep. into*, **Ad** 1996.

**in-myd**, *prep. amidst*, **D** 680; *in-myddis*, **D** 722.

**inogh**, *inowe*, *see enoghe*.

**ins**, *sb.* abode, **H** 204.

**in-samen**, *adv.* together, **D** 757.

**in-tyll**, *prep. into*, 10.

**iolifte**, *sb.* pleasure, **G<sub>1</sub>** 372.

**iornay**, *journey*, **H** 1559.

**iow**, *see ȝowe*.

**ispytte**, **I** 928, *see note*.

**iuelle**, *sb.* jewel, 181/39\*.

**iustifi**, *vb.* judge, **H** 1178 *a*.

**i-wysse**, *adv.* certainly, 269, **I** 785; *iwis*, **H** 569.

**iye**, *see ȝhe*.

## K

**k**, *see also c*.

**katell**, *sb.* money, 893, 1945.

**kay**, *sb.* key, 244/24\*.

**kele**, *vb.* become cool, become less, 149/124\*; *keleing*, *pres. pple.* **H** 1212 *a*.

**ken**, *vb.* teach, 599; recognize, 51/14\*; know **H** 2/14\*; *pres. sing.* know, **H** 725; *kend*, *pa. sing.* knew, **H** 146/3\*; *pa. pple.* known, **H** 20/13\*; taught, 152/313\*.

**kene**, *adj.* bold, **H** 51/9\*.

**kenly**, *adv.* boldly, **H** 922 *d*.

**kepe**, *sb.* heed, notice, **H** 275, **H** 465.

**kepe**, *vb.* keep, care for, wait for, 220; observe, **Ad** 276; *kepe*, *pres. pl.* care for, 674; *kepyd*, *pa. pple.* 79.

**kerue**, *vb.* carve, cut, **H** 1594 *a*; *karf*, *pa. sing.* II. 133/562; *koruen*, *pa. pple.* 1308.

**kest**, *see caste*.

**kid**, *vb.* *pa. pl.* showed, **H** 799; *kyd*, *pa. pple.* known, 754; *kid*, 245/48\*. *See also honked*.

**kinde**, *sb.* nature, race, 153/341\*, 1718.

**kingk**, *sb.* king, **G<sub>1</sub>** 240.

**kirnells, sb. pl. kernels,** 152/141\*.  
**knew, vb. know,** 264; **knouen, pa. pple.**

II. 134/614.

**kneghites, sb. pl. knights,** H 1007.  
**kneled, vb. pa. sing. knelt,** 106; **knewlede,**

II. 130/107.

**knewleche, sb. knowledge,** II. 145/1782 l.  
**koun sail, vb. pres. 1 sing. counsel,** H 503.

**kun, vb. know,** H 2/14\*; **konne,** 161/443\*;  
**conne, pres. 2 sing. knowest,** Ad 662;

**kan,** H 802 c; **conne, pres. pt. can,** G<sub>1</sub> 764; **couth, cowde, pa. sing. could,** 288,

743; **kowth, pa. pl. knew,** 153/348\*. *See also couthe, vnkouth.*

**kunandly, adv. skilfully,** H 1912.  
**kyndam, sb. kingdom,** I 1149.

**kyndely, adv. properly,** 152/313\*.

## L

**lad, sb. lad, knave,** H 774 a; **laddis, pl. D**  
 713.

**laghyngc, sb. laughing,** 152/160\*. *See also lughe.*

**laine, vb. conceal,** H 148/44\*.

**laire, sb. grave,** H 244 b.

**laithly, lolich, lothlech, adv. in a loathsome**  
 manner, 1099. *See also lothely.*

**lake, sb. lack; with-owtyn lake,** without  
 fail, 1418.

**lake, sb. brook, stream,** 166/782\*.

**lamazabathany, lamma sabacthani,** 1788  
 (Matthew xxvii. 46).

**langare, adv. long ago,** 720.

**lang on, prep. owing to,** H 1125.

**langus, vb. pres. 3 sing. beseems, belongs,**  
 F 339; **langys,** 342.

**lap, sb. flap, bosom,** H 827; **lappe,** 852.

**lare, sb. teaching, lore,** 749.

**largely, adv. generously,** 152/140\*.

**late, vb. let, allow,** 616; **lattys, pres. 2 sing.**

128; **lat, pres. pl. 26; lat, impera. pl. 138;**  
**lete, pa. sing. I 486; pa. pl. 279; laten,**  
**pa. pple.** H 613, 244/7\*.

**lathe, adj. loathly,** 352.

**lawely, adv. in lowly manner,** 145/283\*.

**lay, sb. law,** 389; **lawe,** 406; **lawys, pl.**  
 11; **laus,** H 935. *See also vnlawe.*

**lazer, sb. leper,** 94, 95.

**leche, sb. cure,** II. 126/52\*.

**lecture, sb. reading, what is read,** I 289.

**lede, sb. lead,** I 533.

**lede, sb. people,** 157/330\*.

**lede, vb. lead,** Ad 74; **ladde, pa. sing. II.**  
 126/36\*; **ylad, pa. pple.** II. 131/378.

**ledere, sb. leader,** 154/217\*.

**lefe, leef, adj. lief,** 770, F 132 b; **lewe,**  
 1822; **lef,** II. 144/1714 s; **leuer, compar.**  
 630.

**lefe, sb. leaf,** 150/242\*.

**leiche, sb. equal, peer,** G<sub>1</sub> 159.

**leien, vb. lay,** G<sub>1</sub> 84; **ley, pres. pl. D** 653.

**lely, adv. leally, faithfully,** 143/89\*.

**len, vb. subj. sing. grant,** 1137, 2085,  
 249/7\*, 249/23\*; **lene,** 2081; **lent, pa.**  
**sing. gave,** 143/134\*, 148/78\*.

**lende, vb. tarry,** H 178 b, F 434, H 372;  
**lended,** **pa. sing.** 165/767\*; **lent,** **pa.**  
**pple. arrived,** 974.

**lendys, sb. loins,** I 1864.

**lenger, adv. compar. longer,** G<sub>1</sub> 153, 424;  
**langir,** 810.

**lenkith, sb. length,** H 444; **lenthe,** 1423;  
**lenghe,** 153/177\*.

**lepe, vb. run, go,** I 1278 b; **lepe, pa. sing.**  
 Ad 631.

**lere, sb. teach,** H 2/16\*, F 6; **learn,** 2052.

**les, vb. lessen,** H 826 b.

**lese, sb. falsehood,** 145/251\*; **lesse,**  
 153/180\*.

**lese, lowys, vb. loosen,** 68; **lose,** F 382;  
**loses, pres. sing. destroys,** H 935;

**lesyd, pa. sing. released,** 1821; **lossede,**  
**lost,** Ad 1768; **lorne, pa. pple. lost,** I 34.

**lesing, sb. lying,** G<sub>1</sub> 207, D 650.

**lest, adj. least,** 20.

**lest,** II. 136/918, *see note.*

**leste, vb. last,** I 590.

**lethet, vb. pa. sing. abated, ceased,** F 1768.

**lett, sb. hindrance,** H 75.

**lett, vb. hinder,** H 828 a, H 1068; **forsake,**  
 163/525\*; **pause,** H 206 a; **lettid, pa.**  
**sing. hindered,** F 723; **lete,** stopped, H  
 1140; **letted,** **pa. pl. paused,** H 957;

**lett, pa. pl. forsook,** Ad 146/13\*.

**letterowe, sb. book, story,** 289.

**lettynge, sb. preventing,** Ad 207.

**leperly, adv. wickedly,** H 1034 c.

**leue, sb. leave,** 194, 148/50\*.

**leue, vb. leave, stop,** H 398; **lafte, pa. sing.**  
**released,** II. 126/10\*; **leuyd, lefte, laft,**  
**pa. pl. left,** 587; **leuyd, pa. pple.** 348,  
 1637.

**leue, vb. subj. sing. grant,** I 1137.

**leuedi, sb. lady,** G<sub>1</sub> 1753, II. 144/1737.

**leuyn, vb. believe,** I 27; **leue, Ad 146/11\***;  
**lefe, impera. sing. 1095.**

**levyn, vb. pres. pl. live,** 366; **leueande,**

**pres. pple. Ad 659.**

**lewte, leaute, sb. loyalty,** 925, Ad 187/1683.

**liche, sb. lie,** H 906.

**lihte, adj. easy,** D 1938.

liking, *sb.* comfort, enjoyment, 150/174\*.  
 list, *sb.* hearing, attention, II. 126/2\*.  
 list, *vb.* *impers.* pleases, 153/333\*, II.  
 129/86 *f.*  
 lith, *vb.* listen, **H** 161.  
 litill, *adj.* little, **H** 576.  
 liue, *sb.* life, 1297; lef, **G**<sub>1</sub> 1315.  
 liuer, *vb.* deliver, **H** 1188, 244/30\*.  
 lokeneden, **G**, 1368, *see note.*  
 lokyng, *sb.* look, glance, **I** 1076.  
 lokkes, *sb.* *pl.* locks, **H** 1920 *m.*  
 longede, *vb.* *pa. sing.* longed, yearned, II.  
 126/14\*.  
 lordyngys, *sb.* *pl.* lords, **A** 1.  
 lote, *sb.* lot, **H** 1594 *b*; lotes, *pl.* **H** 1591.  
 lothely, *adj.* loathsome, 151/102\*. *See also*  
*laithly.*  
 louered, *sb.* lord, **G**<sub>1</sub> 124; lord, *poss.* lord's,  
 1736.  
 loumbe, *sb.* lamb, II. 128/192\*; lombe, II.  
 128/193\*.  
 lowted, *vb.* *pa. sing.* bowed, **H** 1807.  
 luf, luffe, *sb.* love, 989.  
 luf, *vb.* *pres.* *1 sing.* love, 159; luffid, *pa.*  
*sing.* 436.  
 lughe, *vb.* *pa. sing.* laughed, 142/49\*;  
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**F** 960. *See also* laghyne.  
 luke, *vb.* regard, consider, 144/183\*.  
 ly, leye, *vb.* lie; ly on, tell lies about, 906,  
 II. 128/153\*.  
 lycorce, *sb.* liquorice, **I** 120 *a.*  
 lygge, *vb.* lie, recline, 400; lig, 165/742\*;  
 ligand, *pres.* *pple.* **H** 146/14\*; liggen,  
*pa.* *pple.* **H** 1896 *l.*  
 lyghtid, *vb.* *pa. sing.* alighted, 89.  
 lyked, *vb.* *pa. sing.* was pleased, **A** 107 *b*;  
 lykange, *pres.* *pple.* **Ad** 960.  
 lym, *sb.* limb, **F** 976 *a.*  
 lynde, *sb.* linden, 161/469\*.  
 lynde, 162/478\*, *see note.*  
 lynne, *sb.* line, measure, 162/485\*.  
 lyst, *vb.* listen, 1831; lustet, *impera.* *pl.* **G**,  
 1019.  
 lyte, *sb.* light, **I** 517.  
 lythe, *sb.* limb, 142/25\*.  
 lyuung, *sb.* living, 931; lyffynd, 144/190\*.

M

ma, *vb.* make, **H** 478; mase, *pres.* *sing.*  
**Ad** 1114; mad, *pa.* *pple.* 1335; makid,  
 1336.  
 macoun, *sb.* mason, **G**, 1897.  
 maistri, *sb.* authority, achievement, 300,  
 313; maistris, *pl.* 150.

maistires, *sb.* *pl.* masters, 23.  
 make, *sb.* form, specified fashion, 1357,  
**G**<sub>1</sub> 1364, **G**<sub>1</sub> 1371.  
 make, *sb.* match, 1408.  
 malasyd, *vb.* *pa. sing.* regarded with  
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 manas, *vb.* menace, 1967; manacyd,  
*manast,* *pa. sing.* 1099.  
 mane, *sb.* moan, 179/40\*, **H** 2016.  
 manechyng, *sb.* menacing, 1000.  
 man-slaughte, *sb.* manslaughter, **I** 1024.  
 marchandyse, *sb.* merchandise, bargain,  
 886.  
 mased, *vb.* *pa. sing.* dazed, **F** 1099.  
 mast, *adj.* and *adv.* greatest, most, 23,  
 309, 644; mest, **G**<sub>1</sub> 156; mest, **G**<sub>1</sub> 840.  
 mate, *vb.* *pa.* *pl.* measured, **D** 1364.  
 maunde, *sb.* the Last Supper, **G**<sub>1</sub> 287 *h.*  
*See note.*  
 mawgre, *sb.* blame, reproach, 154/220\*.  
 may, *vb.* *pres.* *sing.* may **Ad** 312; may,  
*pres.* *pl.* I 196; mow, **F** 2; moo, **F** 642;  
 myght, mistht, *pa. sing.* 572; moughte,  
**Ad** 211; moght, **H** 818 *a*; myth, *pa. pl.*  
**I** 471; mist, **G**<sub>1</sub> 1153. (*Cf.* Pearl 460.)  
 mayn, *sb.* might, **H** 899.  
 mayne, *adj.* mighty, **Ad** 1194; mayn,  
 142/70\*.  
 me, *pron.* they, people, **G**<sub>1</sub> 688, II. 175/426.  
 meche, *sb.* match, 1344 *b.*  
 mede, *sb.* reward, praise, 157, 367,  
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 mede, *sb.* meadow, II. 127/77\*.  
 medeful, *adj.* meritorious, **H** 2/12\*.  
 medsin, *sb.* medecine, 148/96\*.  
 mene, *vb.* complain, **H** 2012 *f*; *refl.*  
 160/566\*; meneand, *pres.* *pple.* 242/4\*.  
 mene, *vb.* *pres.* *pl.* mention, **H** 1218 *b*;  
 menyd, *pa. sing.* meant, 147; ment,  
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 meneinge, *sb.* meaning, intention, **H**  
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 mening, *sb.* mourning, moaning, 1335.  
 mentil, *sb.* mantle, **D** 632.  
 meny, *sb.* company, followers, 91; mene-  
 zhe, 202; menȝe, **H** 97, **H** 975; meyne,  
**D** 692 *a.*  
 merke, *sb.* mark, **I** 570, **D** 1371.  
 meruail, *sb.* marvel, 150/243\*.  
 meruaylous, *adj.* marvellous, 159/400\*.  
 meselde, *adj.* leprous, 159/371\*.  
 message, *sb.* errand; in message, on an  
 errand, 166/633\*.  
 met, *sb.* measure, 1370.  
 mete, *adj.* meet, 162/474\*.

mete, *sb.* food, 201, 203; meeth, 195.  
 mete, *vb.* meet, 512; mette, *pa.* *pl.* 1318.  
 metinge, *sb.* measuring, II. 152/1610.  
 metyng, *sb.* dreaming, 284.  
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 miming, *sb.* remembrance, G<sub>1</sub> 2082.  
 minde, *sb.* remembrance, H 236.  
 mi-nowen, *see* awen.  
 mirknes, *sb.* darkness, 602.  
 mis, *vb.* miss, 51/17\*; mysse, 523; mist, *pa.* *pl.* 245/50\*.  
 misfare, *sb.* misfortune, H 177/2\*.  
 missaid, *vb.* *pa.* *pl.* reviled, H 680; *pa.* *pple.* II. 128/172\*.  
 mister, *sb.* men of mister, craftsmen, 1341.  
 mis-trowand, *vb.* *pres.* *pple.* unbelieving, 156/442\*.  
 mistrowing, *sb.* unbelief, H 1715.  
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 mode, *sb.* mind, manner, 932; mude, 1506; might, strength, H 899.  
 mone, *vb.* *subj.* 2 sing. mention, II. 134/662\*;  
 monede, *pa.* *sing.* Ad 147.  
 mone, I 321, *see note.*  
 mone, *sb.* money, 164.  
 mortherer, *sb.* murderer, H 1050.  
 morwe, *adj.* Morrow, D 2005.  
 mote, *sb.* discussion, 788.  
 mote, *vb.* dispute, H 848.  
 mote, *vb.* *pres.* 1 sing. must, Ad 8; mot, may, Ad 696; mot, *pres.* 2 sing. 166/643\*; must, *pa.* *impers.* 8.  
 mote-haulle, *sb.* judgment-hall, Ad 1090.  
 moue, *vb.* trouble, H 1178 b.  
 moȝt, *sb.* mouth, II. 133/546.  
 mun, *vb.* *pres.* *sing.* must, H 842.  
 muring, murnig, *see note on* 149/169\*.  
 myghtfull, *adj.* mighty, Ad 1763.  
 mykell, *adj.* and *adv.* great, much, 2; mekyll, 96; mochil, G<sub>1</sub> 456; moche, D 572.  
 myn, *adj.* less H 1041.  
 myngyst, *vb.* *pres.* 2 sing. stirrest, I 782; mengid, *pa.* *pple.* 746; mingled, 1722.  
 myrke, *adj.* dark, 1772.  
 myrthis, *sb.* *pl.* pleasures, 142/42\*.  
 mys-bede, *vb.* *pa.* *pl.* injured, F 1214 a.  
 mys-fare, *vb.* fare ill, 166/618\*.  
 mysferde, *vb.* *pa.* *pl.* fared ill, 166/630\*.  
 mys-gon, *vb.* *pa.* *pple.* erred, mistaken, 694.  
 mysliking, *sb.* trouble, D 1763.

mysse, mis, *sb.* misdeed, 142/44\*; mistake, 149/157\*.  
 mystone, *vb.* *pa.* *pple.* mistaken, 694.

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 nart, nas, *see* be.  
 nasse (a), *see* asse.  
 nay, *sb.* wyth-outen nay, beyond doubt, A 1546.  
 nayre (a), *see* eyre.  
 ne, *adv.* not, I 6, 262, 356.  
 ne, *conj.* nor; with noght, 138, 441; with no, 153.  
 neddir (a), *sb.* an adder, 151/102\*.  
 nede, *vb.* *pres.* sing. is necessary, A 789.  
 nede, nedis, *adv.* necessarily, 452.  
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 nedir, nether, *adv.* nether, lower, 1419, I 1429.  
 negh, *adv.* near, nearly, 480; neith, G<sub>1</sub> 1628.  
 negh, *vb.* come near, H 612 a; neye, II. 128/155\*; neghes, *pres.* *sing.* H 191; neghed, *pa.* *sing.* H 3/47\*; niȝt, II. 135/684.  
 neghe, *prep.* near, 545; negh, H 612 a; ney, D 684.  
 nel, *see* wyll.  
 nere, *adv.* near, 14.  
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 neshe, *adj.* tender, soft, II. 138/1210 b.  
 neste, *adv.* nexte, 274.  
 neuenig, *sb.* naming, 163/694\*.  
 neuyn, *vb.* name, 163/688\*; neuind, *pa.* *sing.* 163/696\*; nevenyd, nemned, *pa.* *pple.*, 1762.  
 no, *adv.* now, II. 134/628 a.  
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 noen, *adj.* and *pron.* no, none, 166; nane, H 542a; noon, 328.  
 noght, *adv.* not, 5, 37; noth, G<sub>1</sub> 32; notht, G<sub>1</sub> 148; natt, II. 150/5.  
 nome, *vb.* take, 142/36\*;nymme, impera. sing. A 1032; nom, *pa.* *sing.* G<sub>1</sub> 584; nam, D 562; nomen, *pa.* *pple.* G<sub>1</sub> 386.  
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**none**, *sb.* the ninth hour, about three o'clock in the afternoon, 1766.  
**not**, *see wit*.  
**nothir**, *conj.* neither, 1170; **nowþer**, **H** 19/5\*, **H** 21/43\*, **H** 398.  
**nothyrr**, *adj.* other, 491; **nothir**, 1674.  
**nowe**, *adj.* new, 646.  
**nowre-whare**, *adv.* nowhere, 161/620\*.  
**noy**, *sb.* trouble, **D** 1550 *b.*  
**nulleȝ**, *see wyll*.  
**nurtoure**, *sb.* training, **H** 774 *a.*  
**nye**, *vb.* annoy, **F** 657; **noyd**, *pa. pple.* 145/269\*.  
**nyend**, *adj.* ninth, 158/577\*.  
**nyghen**, *adj.* nine, **H** 146/2\*; **nien**, 153/349\*.

**O**

**obouen**, *see a-bouen*.  
**obout**, *see a-bowte*.  
**odur**, *adj.* other, **F** 294.  
**off**, *of*, *prep.* of, 37; out of, 242; by, **I** 1305.  
**of-broide**, *vb.* upbraid, reproach, **II** 127/68\*.  
**offerande**, *sb.* offering, **Ad** 146/44\*.  
**of-schorn**, *of-corn*, *vb. pa. pple.* cut off, **D G<sub>1</sub>** 584, **G<sub>1</sub>** 716.  
**of-thorne**, **F** 584, *see note*.  
**of-torne**, *vb. pa. pple.* torn off, **F** 716.  
**oft-siþes**, *adv.* oftentimes, **H** 756, 164/724\*.  
**ogains**, *see agayns*.  
**ogayne**, *see a-gayne*.  
**ogayne-warde**, *adv.* back again, **Ad** 1520 *j.*  
**ought**, *adv.* aught, 258, 268, 369; **oȝth**, *sb.* **II** 175/418.  
**oloud**, *adv.* aloud, **H** 1032.  
**omang**, *omanges*, *see amang*.  
**omell**, *prep.* among, **H** 17.  
**on-beme**, *vb. pres. pl.* shine, 159/386\*. *See note*.  
**on-brade**, *adv.* apart, widely asunder, **H** 1605.  
**one**, *see ane*.  
**on-lang**, *adv.* lengthwise, **H** 1586 *a.*  
**on-liue**, *adj.* alive, **H** 2058.  
**onone**, *adv.* straightway, 133, 179; **onane**, **H** 483; **anon**, **G<sub>1</sub>** 155.  
**on-slepe**, *adv.* asleep, 275, **H** 466.  
**ony**, *see eny*.  
**opon**, *see apon*.  
**oposed**, *vb. pa. sing.* questioned, **H** 747.  
**or**, *conj.* ere, 150/219\*.  
**ordand**, *vb. pa. sing.* arrange, **H** 205; *pa. pl.* **H** 17; *pa. pple.* 2/15\*.

**ore**, *see are*.  
**orysoune**, *sb.* prayer, **Ad** 446.  
**othes**, *see athes*.  
**ouer-dreuyn**, *vb. pa. pple.* covered, 178/28\*.  
**ouer-gane**, *vb. pa. pple.* covered over, **H** 1768.  
**oure**, *adv.* anywhere, **H** 1950.  
**oure**, *sb.* hour, **H** 471.  
**oure**, **II**. 127/84\*, *see note*.  
**ous**, *pron. us*, **II**. 173/352.  
**out-brast**, *vb. pa. sing.* burst out, **H** 1210, 1616.  
**out-toke**, *vb. pa. sing.* excepted, **H** 148/51\*.  
**out-wryng**, *vb.* rush out forcibly, 1880;  
**out-wrang**, *pa. sing.* 1627.  
**ouyr-glyde**, *vb. pa. pple.* passed by, **A** 52.  
**ouyr-stone**, *sb.* upper stone, *i.e.*, the stone covering the tomb, 1975.  
**oway**, *adv.* away, **H** 90 *d.*, 166/788\*.  
**owe**, *vb. pres. 1 sing.* ought, **I** 489; *owest*, *pres. 2 sing.* **I** 840; *aw*, *pres. 3 sing.* **H** 873; *awes*, **Ad** 761; *au*, *owns*, 245/33\*; *aw*, *pres. pl.* ought, **H** 2/3\*; *awe*, **Ad** 146/11\*; *aght*, *pa. sing.* ought, 754; *aughte*, *owned*, 181/47\*; *nocht*, did not own, had not, **G<sub>1</sub>** 159.  
**owre**, *prep.* over, 167/679\*.  
**owre**, *pron. our*, 4; **oure**, 5.  
**oyled**, *vb. pa. sing.* anointed, 118.  
**oynement**, *sb.* ointment, 111; **oygnement**, 117, 128; **vnement**, **H** 19/11\*.

**P**

**pace**, **G<sub>1</sub>** 680, *see note*.  
**palasse**, *sb.* palace, 974.  
**pall**, *sb.* mantle, 1203.  
**par-auenture**, *adv.* perhaps, 149/119\*.  
**parchemyne**, *sb.* parchment, 1664.  
**par ma fay**, in faith, **D Ad** 694.  
**paryd**, *vb. pa. pple.* prepared, 1416.  
**paske**, *pasch*, *sb.* Passover, 173, 1022, **II**. 128/190\*; *passh*, **H** 44; *Paschal feast*, 193; *passee tyme*, Passover, 44.  
**passee**, *sb.* pace, 605.  
**passee**, *vb. go*, 450.  
**pay**, *vb.* please, 153/328\*; **payd**, *pa. pple.* 74.  
**paye**, *sb.* pleasure, 159/392\*.  
**penyse**, *sb. pl.* pennies, 129, 247.  
**pepyns**, *sb. pl.* seeds, pips, 142/32\*.  
**pete**, *sb.* pity, **Ad** 146/25\*.  
**peyne**, *sb.* pain, **I** 2, **I** 5.  
**peris**, *vb.* perish, **H** 570.  
**persaiued**, *vb. pa. sing.* perceived, **H** 739.  
**pese**, *pees*, *sb.* peace, 544. *See also vn-pees*.

pilere, *pelare*, *sb.* pillar, 1195.  
 pilt, *pult*, *vb.* push, **A** 928.  
 pine, *vb.* afflict with pain, torment, II. 128/196\*.  
 piscyne, *sb.* pool, 143/146\*; *pyscyne*, 145/268\*.  
 pitt, *sb.* pit, hole, 1645; *puttes*, *pl.* graves, II. 145/1780.  
 plates, *sb.* *pl.* coins, **H** 162 *d*, 164, 165.  
 playes, *plawes*, *sb.* plays tricks, 170.  
 playnt, *sb.* complaint, 652.  
 pleate, *vb.* plead, **A** 788.  
 plyght, *sb.* danger, 842.  
 plyghte, *vb.* *pres.* *pl.* promise, **I** 842.  
 polist, *vb.* *pa.* *pl.* polished, 161/631\*.  
 polke, *sb.* pool, puddle, 154/212\*.  
 ponist, *vb.* *pa.* *pl.* punished, **H** 1839.  
 porcion, *sb.* portion, 142/22\*.  
 portrayed, *vb.* *pa.* *pple.* devised, **I** 552.  
 posteles, *sb.* *pl.* apostles, **G** 1983.  
 pouste, *sb.* power, 508.  
 pouder, *sb.* dust, 149/168\*.  
 pouert, *sb.* poverty, II. 128/160\*.  
 pouertwede, poor clothes, II. 128/186\*.  
 powder, *vb.* cast dust on, 149/117\*.  
 preche, *vb.* preach, II. 127/115\*; *preke*, II. 128/157\*.  
 pregidise, *sb.* prejudice, **H** 950 *a*.  
 prese, *sb.* press, 177/13\*.  
 present, *sb.* presence, **H** 751.  
 presentyd, *adj.* present, **I** 922.  
 preson, *sb.* prison, 400.  
 prest, *adj.* ready, prompt, **G** 1 770.  
 preue, *vb.* prove, **F** 602.  
 preuely, *adv.* secretly, **H** 632 *b*.  
 prime, *sb.* first hour of the day, about six o'clock, 164/722\*.  
 primed, II. 140/1426, *see note*.  
 prise, *prysse*, *sb.* prize, **H** 876, 166/637\*; worth, 154/206\*.  
 priue, *preua*, *adj.* secret, private, 857; *preue*, **H** 284; *pryue*, *sb.* confidant, 1736.  
 procourd, *vb.* *pa.* *pple.* brought about, 552.  
 profer, *vb.* put forth, 602.  
 promisiowne, *sb.* promise, 157/465\*.  
 prowe, *sb.* profit, 164/551\*.  
 prude, *sb.* pride, II. 127/55\*.  
 prystys, *sb.* *pl.* priests, **I** 608.  
 pryuate, *sb.* secrecy, 280; *preuete*, **H** 292 *a*.  
 puple, *sb.* people, **H** 1216 *b*; *pupill*, 142/70\*.  
 puplist, *vb.* *pa.* *pple.* published, **H** 1888 *b*.  
 pure, *adj.* poor, 20, 46, 85.  
 purpalie, **F** 1203, *see note*.  
 purpill, *adj.* purple, 1203.

puruay, *vb.* prepare, **H** 177; *puruaid*, *pa.* *pple.* **H** 259; *purweyd*, **I** 1292 *d*.  
 put, *vb.* *impera.* sing. shoved, 1876; *putt*, *pa.* *sing.* **Ad** 1520 *e*; *putted*, **H** 1877.  
 pyne, *sb.* punishment, 6, 49, 319.  
 pyning, *sb.* suffering, **D** 1764.

## Q

quake, *vb.* quake, **I** 850; *wakeynd* (*see note*) *qwokn*, *pa.* *pl.* 254.  
 qued, *sb.* devil, II. 126/48\*; *quede*, II. 127/71\*.  
*queder*, *see wheder*.  
*queme*, *vb.* please, II. 127/63\*.  
*quyte*, *adj.* quit, free, **D** 724; *qwite*, **H** 1188 *d*; *quit*, **G** 1 1260.  
*qwat*, II. 128/189\*, *see note*.  
*qwell*, *vb.* slay, 1262; *quellen*, **G** 1 416.  
*qwhan*, *see when*.  
*qwhat*, *see what*.  
*qrike*, *adj.* quick, living, **Ad** 1520 *b*; *quik*, **H** 1998 *b*; *qwiked*, II. 142/1958 *b* (*see note*); *whik*, 243/2\* (cf. *whikly*, *York Plays* II. 64).  
*qwyll*, *sb.* while, **I** 8.  
*qwylys*, *see whyls*.  
*qwyte*, *vb.* pay, **I** 367; *quyte*, **A** 974.

## R

raced, *adj.* cut, torn, 178/27\*.  
 rampande, *vb.* *pres.* *pple.* rearing, 151/102\*.  
 rape, *sb.* rope, 1615.  
 rapyst, *vb.* *refl.* *pres.* & *sing.* hurriest, **I** 1561.  
 rathe, *adv.* quickly, **D** 1579.  
 rathly, *adv.* quickly, 166/786\*.  
 raw, *sb.* row, **H** 650.  
 reche, *vb.* reach, 1608.  
 rede, *sb.* counsel, plan, 55, 388, 402.  
 rede, *sb.* reed, **H** 1210 *a*.  
 redis, *vb.* *pres.* *pl.* reads, 103; *red*, *pa.* *sing.* counselled, 148/67\*; *radde*, II. 126/35\*; *red*, *pa.* *pple.* versed, 1387.  
 redy, *adj.* ready, 452. *See also aredy*.  
 refe, *vb.* make ready, 503.  
 refe, *vb.* tear, take away, 402; *refte*, *pa.* *sing.* **A** 562; *rafe*, 671; *split*, **H** 1774; *pa.* *pl.* split, **H** 1620; *reuyn*, *pa.* *pple.* torn open, 178/27\*.  
 reflayre, *sb.* odour, 142/80\*.  
 regne, *ryngne*, *sb.* reign, **H** Ad 1149, **Ad** 1151, **Ad** 1155.  
 rekkes, *vb.* *pres.* *sing.* recks, heeds, 1004; *recches*, **I** 1146; *roght*, *pa.* *pl.* 604; *roth*, **G** 1 588.  
 relesid, *vb.* *pa.* *pple.* released, **D** 1406.

rem, *sb.* realm, I 948.  
 rembnand, *sb.* remainder, 166/789\*.  
 remowe, *vb.* remove, 143/150\*; remu, 159/536\*.  
 renne, *vb.* run, D 1218; ren, II. 147/1881; rennande, *pres. pple.* D 1442 *b*; rynand, A 1556.  
 repreve, *sb.* shame, disgrace, II. 150/28.  
 rerew, *vb.* rear, raise, G<sub>1</sub> 646; reriden, *pa. pl.* G<sub>1</sub> 1642; rerid, *pa. pple.* G<sub>1</sub> 95.  
 resownid, *vb. pa. sing.* questioned, D 747.  
 reuth, *sb.* ruth, pity, 1630; rewth, distress, H 1216 *a*.  
 rewe, *vb.* pity; rewe on me þat rede, pity me for that plan, I 402.  
 rewl, *vb.* rule, H 300 *a*.  
 riall, *adj.* royal, II. 151/80.  
 riche, *sb.* kingdom, II. 127/118\*, II. 172/342 *a*; kingdom of heaven, II. 128/170\*.  
 rigge-bone, *sb.* backbone, Ad 1580.  
 right, *vb.* rise, 150/201\*.  
 rightwis, *adj.* righteous, H 186, H 781.  
 rightwisli, *adv.* righteously, H 1274 *f*, riȝt-wyslyche, II. 126/23\*.  
 rightwisnes, *sb.* righteousness, H 1165.  
 riht, *adj.* right, D 562.  
 rote, *sb.* root, 1323; rute, 143/98\*.  
 rotyn, *vb.* rot, G<sub>1</sub> 1431.  
 rowe, *vb.* row, stir about (?), 1394. *See note.*  
 rowe, *sb.* rabble, troop, 513.  
 rugged, *vb. pa. pl.* tugged, pulled, Ad 1283; rugged, H 1590; *pa. pple.* H 178/27\*.  
 ryfe, *adj.* famous, 1845.  
 ryfe, *vb.* arrive, 93.  
 ryghte, *sb.* to the ryghte, upright, 162/493\*.  
 ryme, *sb.* rhyme, tale 58.  
 ryme, *vb.* make verses, 30.  
 ryse, rise, 53; rayse, *pa. sing.* 266, 330; roos, I 463; rayse, resyn, *pa. pl.* 535.  
 rytht, *adv.* right, 92; ryght, 164; riht, D 561. *See also vnyryght.*  
 rye, *adv.* frequently, I 983; ryfe, widespread, 1918.

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Sabot-day, *sb.* Sabbath, H 936 *b*.  
 sadyl, I 876 *b*. *See note.*  
 sakke, *sb.* ground, reason, 6.  
 sakles, *adj.* innocent, H 833.  
 sale, G<sub>1</sub> 570, *see note.*  
 sall, *vb. pres. sing.* shall, 32; schal, I 142; xal, I 33, I 148, I 149, I 157, I 158, I 232, I 239, I 242, I 305, I 310, I 367, I 376; sall, schalt, *pres. 2 sing.* 410; xalt, I 338; saltou, shalt thou, H 410 *a*; sall, schul, schalle, *pres. pl.* 135; schol, G<sub>1</sub> 371; shulleþ, II. 175/429; xul, I 65, I 185, I 195, I 236; xall, II. 153/156 *a*, II. 153/320 *b*; saltay, shall they, 245/54\*; suld, schulde, solde, *pa. sing.* 53, 78, 299; suld, *pa. pl.* 65; solde, Ad 871; xulde, I 1034.  
 salter-buke, *sb.* Psalter, 144/182\*.  
 samen, *adv.* together, H 19/9\*.  
 sand, *sb.* messenger, 149/137\*; sande, 161/446\*.  
 sande, F 1545, *see note.*  
 sange, *sb.* song, 155/235\*.  
 sare, *adj. and adv.* sore, sorely, 110; sore, I 113, 455.  
 sarenes, *sb.* soreness, H 1468.  
 sauage, 154/213\*. *See note.*  
 sawded, *vb. pa. pple.* soldered, 159/553\*.  
 sawe, *sb.* saying, 405; sow, H 1967.  
 sawles, *sb. pl.* souls, 4.  
 sawyd, *vb. pa. pple.* saved, 1066.  
 scath, *sb.* hurt, injury, H 132 *c*; schatþe, II. 141/1482.  
 schake, *vb.* go, escape, 1028; schoke, *pa. sing.* shook, 852.  
 schamyd, *vb. pa. pple.* shamed, 1113.  
 schap, *vb.* escape, H 628; scape, I 1028.  
 schare, schorne, scerde, *see chere.*  
 schawe, *vb.* show, 142/78\*; schewes, *pres. sing.* H 532 *b*.  
 schayne, *vb. pa. sing.* shone, 1767; schinand, *pres. pple.* 150/234\*.  
 schende, *vb.* injure, destroy, H 506; schent, *pa. sing.* perished, 865; schent, *pa. pple.* lost, destroyed, H 865; scent, injured, II. 146/1794.  
 schene, *adj.* bright, D 1398 *b*; chene, I 1305.  
 schepe, *sb. pl.* sheep, 385; chep, II. 131/384 *c*.  
 scheson, *sb.* accusation, charge, 1936.  
 schete, *vb.* shoot, 854.  
 schette, *adv.* quickly, 861; skete, Ad 963.  
 scho, *pron. she*, 104, 105, 106; yio, G<sub>1</sub> 104; he, G<sub>1</sub> 701, II. 130/104\*, II. 130/105\*; a, G<sub>1</sub> 1750; che, D 1981.  
 schogged, *vb. pa. pl.* shook, H 1646 *g*.  
 schonde, *sb.* shame, I 1113.  
 schone, *sb. pl.* shoes, 145/282\*.  
 schorte, *vb. subj. pl.* shorten, F 1484.  
 schoures, *sb. pl.* attacks, 142/52\*.  
 schout, *sb.* shout, H 1218 *w*.  
 schyrfte, *sb.* shrift, I 248/2\*.

**se**, *vb. see, H 3/52\**; **sene**, 756; **sese**, *pres. 2 sing. H 1224 a*; **seen, seen, pres. pl. 231**; **sewe**, *pa. 2 sing. I 410*; **saw, sauge, pa. sing. 209**; **sach<sub>3</sub>**, G<sub>1</sub> 1104; **se<sub>3</sub>t, II. 127/121\***; **saic, II. 133/565**; **sawe, pa. pl. 522**; **seith, G<sub>1</sub> 1396**; **sowin, D 1559**; **sene, pa. pple. 3/54\***.

**sede**, *sb. seed, 142/45\**.

**sede**, *sb. seat, F 74 b.*

**sege**, *sb. seat, H 1244 b.*

**seke, adj. sick, I 861**; **sek, 1401.**

**seke, vb. seek, 146; secche, I 1344 a**; **soth, pa. sing. G<sub>1</sub> 155**; **sothen, soght, pa. pl. sought, went, 1373, 143/141\***.

**seker, adj. sure, 158/525\***.

**sekunisse**, *sb. sickness, 1402.*

**selcouth, adj. and sb. strange; marvel, 280, 283, 292, A 276; selked, II. 136/984.**

**sele, sb. prosperity, 154/381\***.

**seles, sb. pl. seals, 243/24\***.

**sely, adj. blessed, Ad 186, I 1289, II. 128/163\***; **foolish, 2024. See also vnseli.**

**semblan<sub>d</sub>, sb. semblance, appearance, H 704 c.**

**seme, adv. in a seemly manner (?), 1424. See note.**

**seme, sb. seam, D 1593.**

**seme, vb. seem, 165/763\***; **be fitting, be seem, H 55**; **semes, pres. sing. seems, H 1118**; **semi<sub>p</sub>, beseems, D 1229.**

**sen, conj. since, H 542 d**; **sithin, when, 1334.**

**sendale, see cendill.**

**senfy<sub>e</sub>, vb. signify, 152/127\***.

**senne, sb. sin, II. 127/92\***, II. 128/141\*; **sunne, II. 138/1137.**

**sent, vb. send, 161/446\***.

**sere, adj. diverse, various, H 3/36\***, 376 b.

**serely, adv. separately, H 257.**

**serkell, sb. circle, 159/552\***.

**sertayne, certain, H 475.**

**seretes, see certys.**

**seruand, sb. servant, H 562 a.**

**serued, vb. pa. pple. deserved, Ad 489; seruyde, Ad 2046.**

**seruede, vb. pa. pple. acted, Ad 2045.**

**ses, vb. cease, H 543.**

**sette, vb. set, 335; sette, sett, pa. sing. 107, 171, 354.**

**sexti, adj. sixty, D 573.**

**sibbe, sb. relatives, II. 129/86 m.**

**siche, vb. sigh, II. 172/342 b**; **sike<sub>p</sub>, vb. pres. sing. sighs, II. 132/455**; **syght, pa. sing. 455**; **siked, II. 176/455.**

**sille, vb. sell, G<sub>1</sub> 149; sillen, G<sub>1</sub> 160; salld, saulde, pa. pple. 246.**

**singne, sb. sign, H 990.**

**site, sb. sorrow, H 148/33\***.

**sitte, vb. sit, 206; satte, sate, pa. sing. 76, 271; pa. pl. 207, 209.**

**skete, A 861. See note on 854.**

**skille, sb. reason, D 669; skill, 152/311\***; **schile, II. 142/1596**; **out of skill, wrong, H 779.**

**sclaunderere, sb. slanderer, 145/257\***.

**sclaundrys, vb. pres. sing. slanders, 1114.**

**skornyng, sb. scorning, D 1182; schornynge, Ad 1690.**

**skourgis, sb. pl. scourges, 1196.**

**skrow, sb. scroll, II. 152/1664; scrow, II. 153/1672.**

**skryke, sb. screech, 164/561\***.

**sla, vb. slay, 40; slon, D 569; slase, pres. sing. H 568; sleth, impera. pl. G<sub>1</sub> 1260; slane, pa. pple. H 49, H 568; slain, H 854 b; slawe, D 2072.**

**slaere, sb. slayer, 161/439\***.

**slake, vb. slacken, lessen, 472, D 1834, II. 127/121\***; **slakyd, pa. pple. 508; slacun, F 508, see note.**

**sleghe, adj. clever, Ad 318; sleie, 1341. See also vn-sleie.**

**slepyd, vb. pa. pl. slept, 467; slepe, sleptyn, 484.**

**slike, siche, see swylke.**

**slonge, vb. pa. sing. slung, I 853; slongem, pa. pl. hit him, G<sub>1</sub> 679; slang, 145/233\***.

**smache, vb. pa. sing. smelled, G<sub>1</sub> 119.**

**small, vb. smell, F 1424. See note.**

**smered, vb. pa. sing. smeared, G<sub>1</sub> 113.**

**smerliche, adv. smartly, II. 147/1882.**

**smite, vb. smite, H 677; smetin, pa. pl. D 680; smytyn, smetin, pa. pple. 776.**

**sodanly, adv. suddenly, 143/156\***.

**sogat, see gate.**

**soioured, vb. pa. sing. sojourned, H 950 e.**

**somdele, sb. some part, 472, Ad 818.**

**sonde, adj. sound, II. 142/1598 i.**

**sopere, sb. supper, 192.**

**sothe, adj. true, 579; sou<sub>b</sub>, II. 136/917.**

**sothfastnes, sb. truth, 1165.**

**sothnesse, sb. truth, I 1165.**

**southe, 151/104\*, see note.**

**sown, vb. sown in, partake of, H 638.**

**spede, vb. accomplish, fare, 488; sped, pa. pple. H 820.**

**spell, vb. tell, 2, 412.**

**spellyng, sb. telling, 2001.**

**spelerd, vb. pa. pl. barred, locked, H 1920 m; sperde, pa. pple. I 1812.**

**spernes, vb. subj. pres. 2 sing. stumblest, II. 127/65\***.

spetously, *adv.* spitefully, **A** 678.  
 spird, *vb. pa. sing.* asked, 749; spyrd, *pa. pl.* 145/294\*.  
 spisory, *sb.* spices, package of spices, 1899; *spicery*, **I** 157/2058 *b.*  
 spitt, spitted, *vb. pa. pl.* spit, 677; spidende, *pres. pple.* **II** 134/677. *See note.*  
 spredyn, *vb. pres. pl.* spread, **I** 384; spreddie, *pa. pl.* 13; sprad, 1327.  
 spryte, *sb.* spirit, **A** 1808.  
 spule, spoylen, *vb.* despoil, 996.  
 spyll, *vb.* spill, 128; perish, 138; destroy, **I** 848; spylt, *pa. pple.* destroyed, 928.  
 sqwyer, *sb.* squire, 1127.  
 srendes, **G<sub>5</sub>** 384, *see note.*  
 sselle, *sb.* blemish, **II** 128/192\* (< O.E. scalle, a scab; or O.E. scealu, a scale).  
 stalwurthly, *adv.* strongly, 159/543\*.  
 stand, *vb.* stand, **H** 3/39\*; stude, *pa. ppl.* 535; stoude, **II** 133/535.  
 stane, *sb.* stone, **H** 647.  
 stanke, *sb.* pool, 145/263\*.  
 stanyd, *vb. pa. pl.* stoned, 145/259\*.  
 stede, *sb.* place, 699, 857; sphere for action, 148/65\*. (Cf. Wulfstan, 287.9.)  
 stekin, *vb. pa. pple.* closed, **G<sub>1</sub>** 1812; stoken, 242/23\*.  
 stele, *vb.* steal, 710; stale, *pa. sing.* **H** 132 *b*; staile, 213.  
 stere, *adj.* strong, 1196.  
 stere, *vb.* restrain, allay, 244/27\*.  
 sternely, *adv.* roughly, **H** 1278 *b.*  
 sternys, *sb. pl.* stars, 1772.  
 stethy, *sb.* anvil, 1496.  
 steuyn, *sb.* voice, **H** 447.  
 stintes, *vb. impera. pl.* cease, **H** 2040.  
 stody, *sb.* study, **H** 1060 *f.*  
 stoke, *sb.* stock, 1301.  
 stond, *vb. pa. sing.* stunned, **H** 532 *c.*  
 storbling, *sb.* disturbance, **D** 1612.  
 stordi, *adj.* sturdy, **G<sub>1</sub>** 1601.  
 stowped, *vb. pa. sing.* stooped, 583.  
 strake, *vb. pa. sing.* struck, 156/453\*.  
 strange, *adj.* strong, **Ad** 883.  
 strethe, *sb.* strength, 1616.  
 strewes, *vb. pres. pl.* strew, 84; istrawid, *pa. pple.* **II** 157/2058 *b.*  
 strewyene, stry, strue, *vb.* destroy, **Ad F G<sub>1</sub>** 881; streye, **II** 136/881; stroyed, *pa. pple.* **I** 908 *a.*  
 streyghe, *adj.* stretched, tight, **I** 1209; streite, **G<sub>1</sub>** 1616.  
 stryfe, *vb.* strive, 241; streuyn, *pa. pl.* **D** 722.  
 stubbing, *sb.* quarrelling, 1690, *see note.*

stund, stownde, *sb.* hōur, while, 8, **H** 162 *c.*  
 sturyng, *sb.* stirring, disturbance, 1612.  
 stygħtelyng, *sb.* arrangement, order, 207.  
 styntyng, *sb.* ceasing, 586.  
 styrte, stert, sturte, *vb. pa. sing.* started, **I F G<sub>1</sub>** 266; stryt, 771; stirt, *pa. pl.* 2006.  
 stythe, *adj.* strong, **Ad** 1202.  
 styue, *adv.* very, **II.** 148/2022. (Cf. *Piers Plowman A IX*, 28.)  
 sudary, *sb.* handkerchief, portion of grave clothes in which the head was wrapped, **H** 1896 *g*, **II.** 157/2058 *a.*  
 suffer, *vb.* allow, **H** 482 *b*; suffrys, *pres. sing.* sufferers, 369; sufferd, *pa. sing.* allowed, 116.  
 suffrayne, *adj.* sovereign, 166/627\*.  
 sum, *pron. some*, **H** 518; som, 522.  
 summe-qwhat, *pron. somewhat*, **I** 818.  
 sun, *sb.* son, **H** 554 *b.*  
 sunē, *adv.* soon, **H** 548.  
 sunful, *adj.* sinful, **II.** 127/72\*; senful, **II.** 127/94\*.  
 super, *sb.* supper, 271.  
 suster, *sb. pl.* sisters, **II.** 173/364.  
 suthfast, *adj.* true, **H** 1167.  
 suthly, *adv.* truly, **H** 532, 541.  
 sutile, *adj.* subtle, clever, 161/609\*.  
 swa, *adv.* so, **H** 2/22\*; sa, **Ad** 1112 *b*; se, **I** 1420.  
 swa, *conj. as.*, **Ad** 320.  
 swagid, *vb. pa. pple.* lessened, **G<sub>1</sub>** 508.  
 swerde, *sb.* sword, 416.  
 swere, *sb.* neck, **G<sub>1</sub>** 542.  
 sweme, *sb.* sorrow, **A** 729.  
 sweryn, *vb.* swear, swear allegiance, **I** 1163, **I** 950; sware, *pa. pl.* 550.  
 swete, *sb.* sweat, 458, **Ad** 146/31\*.  
 swette, *vb. pa. sing.* sweat, **I** 458.  
 sweuenyng, *sb.* dreaming, **I** 284.  
 swite, *adj.* sweet, **II.** 136/999. (Cf. *Seven Sages*, Percy Soc. XVI. p. 71, v. 2080.)  
 swonde, *vb. pa. sing.* swooned, 179/34\*.  
 swylke, *adj.* such, 196; siche, swich, 763; slike, 2/10\*; suche, **G<sub>1</sub>** 150.  
 swynk, *sb.* labour, **I** 1612; swynke, **Ad** 146/31\*.  
 swythe, *adv.* very, 561; quickly, 145/242\*.  
 swythen, *vb. pa. pple.* scorched, 141/13\*. *See note.*  
 sykirly, sekirly, *adv.* surely, 925; 143/106\*.  
 syns, *sb. pl.* sinews, 1619.  
 sypris, *sb.* cypress, 153/179\*; cipres, 1325.  
 syre, *sb.* lord, **H** 1206 *b.*  
 systyne, *see* cystern.  
 sythe, *sb.* time, **A** 93.

**sythen**, *adj.* then, 4; **syth**, I 219; **syn**, H 76; **sepin**, H 76; **seben**, H 483; **setthe**, D 645; **sup þat**, *conj.* since, II. 134/662; **sennys**, II. 154/981.  
**sythene**, *vb.* journey, Ad 178.

## T

**take**, *vb.* take, 194; **ta**, 162/652\*; **toke**, *pa. sing.* H 20/24\*; **tuke**, 584; **tane**, *pa. pple.* H 128 b; **tone**, 688; **take**, **takyne**, I Ad 466.

**taken**, *sb.* token, 51/16\*.

**talente**, *sb.* desire, inclination, A 974.

**taryed**, *vb. pa. pple.* delayed, Ad 992.

**tekinge**, *sb.* teaching, II. 135/753, II. 135/790.

**temped**, *vb. pa. sing.* tempted, H 3/26\*.

**tende**, *adj.* and *sb.* tenth, Ad 146/41\*, H 132 b, H 20/24\*; **teyndis**, tithes, Ad 146/46\*.

**tendede**, *vb. pa. sing.* tithed, took one tenth of, Ad 147/55\*.

**tene**, *sb.* sorrow, wrath, H 126, H 834.

**tene**, *adj.* vexed, troubled, H 270 a, 1466.

**tened**, *vb. pa. pple.* vexed, afflicted, A 174; **tenyde**, 162/488\*; **tente**, A 865.

**tent**, *sb.* attention, heed, H 1093.

**tent**, *vb.* try, H 1962; pay heed, H 1574 b.

**testymonye**, **tesmoinge**, *sb.* testimony, I G 917.

**testimoigne**, *vb. pres. pl.* testimony, 917.

**teyde**, *vb. pa. pl.* tied, D 1615.

**th**, *see also p.*

**thar**, *vb. pres. sing.* needs, 324; *impers.* **thare**, 523; *pres. pl.* F 138; **thar**, I 523; **thorte**, *pa. impers.* 187/1674.

**tharkenesse**, *sb.* darkness, I 602.

**the**, *vb.* thrive, Ad 696.

**the**, *see þai*.

**theche**, *vb.* teach, II. 128/158\*.

**thef**, *sb.* thief, H 594; **zeef**, G<sub>1</sub> 245.

**theys**, *sb. pl.* thighs, A 1864.

**thies**, *see þir*.

**tho**, **tha**, *see þa*.

**thole**, *vb.* allow, suffer, 68, 1769; **tholyd**, *pa. sing.* 6.

**tholyng**, *sb.* suffering, 2081.

**thrall**, *sb.* slave, H 1118.

**thrust**, *vb. pa. pl.* thrust, H 1209; **prested**, II. 138/1209.

**thrawe**, **throwe**, *sb.* occasion, while, moment, 60, 410, 643.

**thrawis**, *sb. pl.* pains, 142/51\*.

**thrayfe**, *see þrue*.

**threpe**, *vb.* chide, Ad 995.

**threte**, **þrete**, *vb.* threaten, 718; **þratte**, *pa. sing.* G<sub>1</sub> 1099; **þhratten**, *pa. pl.* G<sub>1</sub> 1597.

**thristid**, *vb. impers. pa.* thirsted, 1720.

**thrughe**, *sb.* trough, tomb, Ad 1896; **throught**, 1973; **trowe**, II. 147/1896.

**throghe-stone**, *sb.* tombstone, 1896.

**throng**, *sb.* throng, D 729; **thrang**, 179/35\*.

**thrynge**, *vb.* rush, press, Ad 1880; **thronge**, *pa. sing.* F 855.

**thurgh**, **thorouge**, *prep. and adv.* through, 30; **thorowe**, Ad 659; **thurke**, 142/44\*; **thught**, 152/288\*; **þorought**, I 263; **þroth**, G<sub>1</sub> 1311; **þorþ**, II. 127/60\*; **þorȝ**, II. 129/86 l; **þorwe**, II. 129/86 n; **þourþ** and **þowr**, through and through, II. 142/1550 b.

**thwenty**, *adj.* twenty, 160/576\*.

**thynde**, *vb.* think, expect, 156/288\*; **thynk**, *impers. pres.* seem, 652; **thoght**, **powt**, seemed, seemed (best), H 210, II. 140/1434 b., *see also penche*.

**thyrd**, *adj.* third, 57; **thryde**, I 390; **thredder**, I 487; **þriddye wynter + þriddie halue zere**, thirty-two and a half years, II. 126/11\*.

**thyrt**, *adj.* thirty, 164; **threty**, H 21/45\*; **þriddi**, G<sub>1</sub> 1329.

**tille**, *vb.* entice, II. 127/109\*.

**tirvyd**, **turuid**, *vb. pa. pl.* stripped, 1193; **tirwid**, 1280.

**tite**, *adv.* quickly, straightway, H 589; **titt**, 1966; **titest**, *super.* H 310.

**to**, *adv.* too, D 697; **thither**, 162/476\*.

**to-fonde**, *vb.* tempt, II. 127/107\*.

**to-fore**, *prep.* before, II. 172/335, II. 173/360.

**to-gedir**, *adv.* together, 17.

**tokenyng**, *sb.* meaning, 749; **toke[n]inge**, II. 141/1476.

**tome**, *adj.* empty, H 2012 a.

**to-medys**, *adv.* in the midst of, I 982.

**ton**, *sb. pl.* toes, F 1438.

**ton**, *pron. and adj.* one, I 622; **to . . . toþir**, Ad 147/70\*.

**tong**, *sb.* tongue H 1244 f; **tung**, 142/38\*; **to-schoke**, *vb. pa. sing.* shook violently, H 1782 c.

**toþyr**, *pron. and adj.* other, I 622; **todur**, F 1437; **þoper**, II. 140/1370. *See note.*

**touchid**, *vb. pa. sing.* touched, inclined, D 638.

**to-whyls-þat**, *conj.* while, 430, 590.

**trauailand**, *vb. pres. pple.* travelling, 174.

**trauaille**, *sb.* trouble, H 399; **trauail**, H 465.

trauailed, *vb. pa. pple.* wearied, exhausted, *G*, 232.

trayed, *vb. pa. pple.* betrayed, 232, 263..

trayne, *sb.* treachery, **H** 170.

traytursly, *adv.* traitorously, **H** 832 *b*; trayturly, **H** 1703.

tren, *sb. pl.* trees, *G*, 1321.

Trenite, Trinity, 152/308\*.

tresore, *sb.* treasure, **H** 2066 *a*.

tresory, *sb.* treasury, 875.

trispast, *vb. pa. pple.* trespassed, **H** 837.

tristilich, *adv.* trustfully, *G*, 1076.

trone, *sb.* throne, **D** 1502.

tronys, **F** 1415, *see note*.

trouage, *sb.* tribute, **H** 936 *d*; trewage, 154/214\*.

trow, *vb.* believe, think, **H** 27, **H** 170.

trowth, *sb.* belief, faith, **H** 1840 *k*; trewȝe, II. 127/105\*.

trumptyng, *sb.* trumpeting, 143/131\*.

trus, *vb.* be gone, **H** 1512.

tu, *prep. to*, 144/173\*.

tuging, *sb.* tugging, **H** 1280 *e*.

turment, *vb. pa. pple.* tormented, **H** 1098.

turnyd, tornede, *vb. pa. sing.* turned, 735; turned, *pa. pple.* returned, 834.

twa, *adj.* two, 625; twey, II. 152/1621; *to*, II. 175/419.

tyde, *sb.* time, 700.

tydyngे, *sb.* tidings, **I** 749; tythynge, 152/159\*; tiȝandes, **H** 2038 *d*.

tyll, *prep. to*, 27, 36, 49, 56, 59, 99, 125.

tyne, *vb.* lose, 5; tynte, *pa. pl.* 154/200\*.

tyrand, *sb.* tyrant, **A** 132 *a*.

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þ, *see also th.*

þa, *adj. and pron. that*, *G*, 482; þab, II. 129/70; þa, *pl. those*, **H** 670; þo, **D** 590; þase, 369, *Ad* 974.

þa, *adv.* then, 13, 28, 197; þan, 77, 96; tha, **A** 1371; tho, **I** 478; þo, *G*, 1558.

þai, *pron. they*, 17, 25, 41; þa, 40, 74, 79, 466, 484, 1473; hi, *G*, 62, *G*, 604; ha, *G*, 1153; a, *G*, 550, *G*, 1601, *G*, 1602, *G*, 1984; þe, *G*, 1041, 1596; the, **I** 1327.

þaime, *pron. them*, 17, 19; þame, *Ad* 502; hem, **I** 17, **D** 765; ham, *G*, 137, *G*, 1632; hom, II. 133/533.

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